3: Kabbadias E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Nomadic Shepherds of the Mediterranean; The Sarakatsani of Greece
[Pasteurs-nomades méditerranéens; les Saracatsans de Grèce]

by Geōrgios B. Kabbadias

Paris: 1965
Gauthier-Villars

Translated from the French by Frieda Schütze
1978

[title page]

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Pages

Foreword. 1

Preface. 2

Introduction. The Problem. Orientation of Our Work. Some Words on the Ethnic Origins of the Sarakatsani. Plan of the Work and Methods Followed. Critical Presentation of Earlier Bibliography. 5

Part One: Dialogue with Nature. 23

Chapter I. The Demographic and Ecologic Substratum of Sarakatsani Society and Culture. 23

Chapter II. The Technology of the Sarakatsani. 33
1. The Technology of Acquisition. 34
2. Methods of Utilization and Consumption. 110

Part Two: The Social World. Kinfolk, Other Sarakatsani, and the Society as a Whole. 138

Chapter I. The Social Units in Sarakatsani Life. 139A
1. The Conjugal Family. 139A
2. The Extended Family. 167
3. The Tseligato. 197
4. Sarakatsani Society and the Surrounding Society. 206
5. Remarks on the Interrelations between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life. 209

Chapter II: Social Organization and Economic System. 211

Chapter III. Law in Sarakatsani Society. 216
1. General Aspects. 216
2. Sarakatsani Law Properly Speaking. 224
3. Systematic and Critical Reflections on Sarakatsani Law. 249
4. Final Evaluation. 263

Chapter IV. Moral Phenomena and Morality among the Sarakatsani. 264

Part Three: In the Presence of the Mysterious, the Wonderful, the Beautiful. 272

000

Pages

Chapter I. Sarakatsani Magic. 273
1. Magical Practices and Their Historical and Cultural Origins. 274
2. The Magical Thinking of the Sarakatsani. 328
3. The Social Functions of Sarakatsani Magic. 368

Chapter II. Religion among the Sarakatsani. 375
1. Religious Festivals and Practices. 375
2. Funeral Customs. 387
3. Sarakatsani Religiosity and the Social Functions of Religion. 397

Chapter III. Knowledge and Mythology. Education. 404
1. Sarakatsani Knowledge and Its Limits. 405
2. Myth as a Complement of Knowledge. 415
3. Education. 423

Chapter IV. Art among the Sarakatsani. 424

Part Four. Remarks on the Whole. 436

Chapter I. An Attempt at Synthesis, Explanation and Definition. 437
1. Some Reflections on Methodology. 437
2. An Attempt at Synthesis and Explanation. 449
3. An Attempt at a Definition. 456

Chapter II. The Problem of Equilibrium and Duration. Decline and Its Causes. 461

Conclusion: "Homo Saracatsanus". 473

Index. /not translated/

Bibliography. 481

Captions of Figures. 495

3: Kabbadias--1 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

000/i/ Work published in cooperation with the National Center of Scientific Research

NOMADIC SHEPHERDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN
The Sarakatsani of Greece

/ii/ Applied Sciences of Humankind Series, Paul Albou, Director

/iii/ Georges B. Kavadias
NOMADIC SHEPHERDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN
The Sarakatsani of Greece
Photographs and drawings by the author
Paris
Gauthier-Villars
1965

128 /iv/ A detailed bibliography will be found at the end of the present work. We beg the reader kindly to refer to it, the bibliographical information given in the footnotes being in abbreviated form.

000 /v/ To the sacred memory of my father
To my mother

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/vii/ Foreword

121 The work of Georges Kavadias, which we present to the public today, is the first in a series that will be devoted to the Applied Sciences of Humankind. This may astonish some who consider the sciences of Humankind and sociology to be identical in their basis and in their application. Our point of view is different: for us, the sciences of humankind cannot be founded only on the traditional social sciences; they most certainly include these but they must extend beyond them while enriching them. They endeavor to grasp, by a multidisciplinary approach, the complexity of reality, hence the contradictions which are resolved in practice. Originating from diverse epistemological or methodological considerations, these contradictions--which show the dialectical character of the human phenomenon--are, paradoxically but emphatically, the basis of a global interpretation which alone is capable of guiding the specialist,

/vii cont./

121 whether investigator or practitioner. By an applied science of humankind we mean, actually, not the exploitation of knowledge, which would give rise to procedures and tricks, but rather the increase of this knowledge (hence of our power) by the application of the most rigorous scientific methods to the solution of concrete problems of economic and social life. Now, what is more concrete than the monograph by Georges Kavadias? Is anything more applied--in the sense we have just pointed out? In this essay, which has yielded its author very flattering distinctions, the sociologist and economist, the psychologist and specialist in technical assistance, the ethnologist and jurist--the administrator and the scholar--will find material for profitable reflection. Professor Leroi-Gourhan shows, below, the interest of this work. We will confine ourselves to pointing out the importance of the transformation which the sciences of humankind have undergone today--where theory no longer disavows the practice that gave rise to it and illuminates it while perfecting. The fine work of Georges Kavadias illustrates perfectly this new orientation.

Paul Albou.

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/ix/

Preface

Man has never grown tired of contemplating his image, has never lost his suriosity for his own past. The prehistorian, the archaeologist, the ethnologist, of the present century, are only the instruments of this eagerness to know, the scientific mutations, in the age of the exact sciences, of the travelers and epic narrators of old. Curiosity perhaps, but perhaps necessity as vital as that of light and warmth; for if techniques require only agents, the civilization which invents techniques

/ix cont./
121 cannot do without knowing what it is. That is the prime motive of the
sciences of humankind and it amply justifies their existence.

To study in detail the situation of a category of human beings
who are in the process of disappearing can serve the noble purpose
of helping them in their distress, of inducing society to help them
survive or die more tranquilly. This is a pious illusion, for social
121 progress wipes out cultures without shedding the blood of individuals:
177 one generation will perchance regret, the second will adapt itself, the
178 third has forgotten. Better cared for, better fed, better housed, the
grandchildren of the last Sarakatsani shepherds, having become good
servants of modern economy, will feed their imagination, like everybody
else, on the pastoral adventures of a fictitious people, the
cowboys of the Far West, the universal symbol of freedom in herding.
Unless folklore is born from the ashes of Greek pastoral life, and unless
in a century, thanks to this book, the adventures of the wild
Thessalian nomads will be restored to the descendants of shepherds. In
any case, we come back to the fact that humanity will have maintained
its indispensable image of itself.

121 One could conceive of a third angle of vision, from which,
assuming the principle that diversity of methods of production could
lead to an economy less reckless in its consumption, one could imagine
a veritable transposition from the archaic pastoral nomad to a modern
pastoral nomad. It is here that an in-depth study without an apparent
practical aim could, in the future, actually serve a /x/ concrete
purpose. Every society that endures in a certain way of life performs
an experiment the evidence of which cannot be useless. The general laws
of equilibrium of human groups have been scarcely glimpsed. The subtle
interplay of technical, economic, social, religious, esthetic values
gives the feeling of actually being an individual within a community,
hence of a truly significant unit. This interplay is discerned by
sociologists, but its rules are only on the verge of being analyzed.
To reason coldly, it matters very little whether an economy of a type

/x cont./

12| that is passing completes its ruin in its last representatives, but it is essential for society that their experience be recorded, for in ten years or in a hundred all that will remain will be an aspect of human consciousness masked but not obliterated by modern life, lacking any evidence other than that gathered by ethnology.

To reason coldly is, furthermore, not characteristic of ethnology which must experience its evidence directly: life is inseparable from affective warmth when one works with human material. Georges Kavadias has lived his experience of the Sarakatsani with his heart and with his intelligence, each in turn becoming the servant of the other. Having [114] seen him, with his wife, in the field, I know what passionate solicitude he brought to the research, and I know all that the present book represents in years of direct collecting followed by those of formulation. About this strange world of transhumant shepherds of Balkan and Hellenic Europe we had only data that were fragmentary and relatively inaccessible. It is the first time that a work on this subject appears in a perspective which includes all the spheres of life and their relationships. May it fulfill the role which its author hoped for it: to be at once a homage to the world of the Sarakatsani and an element in the construction of a true image of man.

André Leroi-Gourhan,
Professor at the Sorbonne.

3: Kabbadias--5 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/xi/

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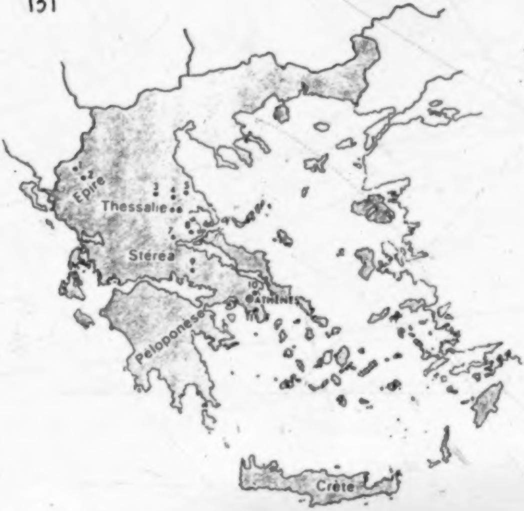
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ATHENES
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Peloponese
Crete

• Geographical sites where our investigation was carried out [are indicated by numbered dots.]

p. Xi

3: Kabbadias--6   E-4,5   (no date) 1965   EH14   Sarakatsani   EH14

/xii/ /blank/

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Introduction

121 178 Nomadic Shepherds of the Mediteranean--the Sarakatsani of Greece: the title already announces the content of this work; the study of one of the forms of traditional life that are decreasing rapidly in the Mediterranean countries, under the influence of what we commonly call "progress."

121 This work, undertaken several years ago, comes under the heading of contemporary social-cultural anthropology and is defined within its framework.

However, since the scope and point of view of this discipline are still the object of epistemological controversies, it will be advisable to answer two fundamental questions: What are the problems relevant to anthropology? And, consequently, what is the precise orientation of this work?

In order to answer them we should recall the discussion of the function of anthropology already begun in the early part of the century, succinctly summarized in the contribution of G. Balandier to Traité de Sociologie, published under the editorship of G. Gurvitch. (1)

[113] 1. See G. Gurvitch: Traité de Sociologie vol. 1, chat. v. "Sociologie, Ethnologie et Ethnographie", by G. Balandier, p. 99-113 and bibliographic citations.

It is well known that the teachings of British and American schools of anthropology represent the chief poles of divergence. The first is oriented more towards the study of social relations and structures, while the second is directed more towards culture, the ideological and material assets of societies. (2)

[113] 2. See, for example, the works of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Structure and Function in Primitive Society and A.L. Kroeber (ed.): Anthropology Today /both titles cited in English/, representatives of the divergence; as well as the controversy between G.P. Murdock and R. Firth in: American Anthropologist, vol. 53, no. 4, 1951, cited by G. Balandier, ibid.

/1 cont./

121 Nevertheless, these two positions do not seem incompatible. According to a very discerning statement by C. Lévi-Strauss: "because anthropology calls itself social or cultural it aspires always to know the total man, seen, in one case through /2/ his productions, and in the other, through his representations." (3) In any case, let us add, and this represents our position, it aspires to know man "in context"; hence to deepen the knowledge of man as such--his reactions and his collective productions as well as his cultural works, likewise collective--man in his universe, both natural and human--given, modified or created by him--and struggling to fulfill his life.

This "synthetic" position, is inspired by the teaching of Marcel Mauss--which, from all evidence, likewise inspired C. Lévi-Strauss (4)-- but it is not based on the authority of the master, nor yet on an "interdisciplinary" ecelecticism, which would be absurd. Our decision to approach the problem in a multidimensional manner arises from the very nature of things. Granted that the social and the cultural are inextricably and to a very large extent interlocked, it is obvious that if one does not wish to confine oneself to a sterile nominalism and to leave obscure extremely important aspects, one is obliged to study both together, and to bring to light both their specific characteristics and their mutual relationships. This is the only way to achieve our aim, /namely/ the knowledge of the total Sarakatsani man.

However, a question still remains to be discussed. Can a monographic study such as ours expect to be accepted within the framework of anthropology which aims, according to G. Balandier, to elucidate the general

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[113] 3. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Place de l'Anthropologie dans les Sciences Sociales et problèmes pósés par son enseignement, in Sciences Sociales, etc., published by UNESCO, p. 113.

4. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction à l'oeuvre de Mauss, p. XXV ff.

/2 cont./

121 properties characterizing the life of man in society? (5)

5. Ibid., p. 102

Or should it, rather, be content with a more modest ambition, that of all ethnographic monographs, to describe more than to explain? In other words, starting from a particular case, can one hope to touch the general?

We believe that, all things considered, we may reply in the affirmative. If the descriptive work proper to every monograph is accompanied by certain comparative statements and if, moreover and above all, it is followed by an explanatory essay, certainly its conclusions will be considered to have anthropological value. /3/ Not because they reveal the universal "socius," but a partial socious, entitled to be integrated with the former and to contribute to its elucidation. Let us remember that if general anthropology has not yet advanced a great deal it is because explanatory monographs are relatively few in number. It seems to us that between the traditional ethnographic monograph and that of inspired by anthropology there is a very obvious gap which justifies a separate category for the latter. The present investigation therefore aspires to take its place among these works.

However, a final aspect which forms of our reflections on our general position ought to be explained: what is culture?

As far as we know, none of the definitions of culture proposed by the different sciences of man can be considered as generally accepted. The following works provide eloquent illustrations. First, Civilisation-[113] le mot et l'idée, published by the Centre international de synthèse (Première semaine internationale de synthèse--II Fsc.), Paris, la Renaissance du Livre, 1930; and second, A.L. Kroeber and Cl. Kluckohn[sic!]: Culture, a critical review of concepts and definitions /cited in English/, Cambridge University Press, 1952.

Obviously, we do not propose to recommence the discussion. Such a task goes far beyond the scope of this work. Nevertheless, the necessity of delimiting our subject, of justifying our plan and explaining the

/3 cont./

121 orientation of the analyses we are going to undertake, requires us to take a stand, even briefly, and to say what we ourselves mean by the term culture.

All creations merit the term culture which are relevant to man's constant effort to conquer all the obstacles he comes up against in the process of ceaselessly adjusting to the conditions imposed upon by his natural and social environment.

In other words, culture is merely the "composite of solutions and responses" that man puts forth in order to satisfy his material, psychological, spiritual, and social needs as these are formed by the concrete conditions of his existence. This composite varies according to societies and different periods of life of the latter; it is transmitted traditionally by custom and enriched by innovations and creations which are ceaselessly added to it.

It will be agreed, we hope, that this definition which /4/ is partly inspired by contemporary anthropology (6)

[113] 6. See: M.J. Herskovits: Man and his Works p.154; A.L.Kroeber: Anthropology p.8-9; B. Malinowski: A Scientific Theory of Culture, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944, p. 36; F. Boas: "Anthropology," in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, vol. 2, New York 1930, p. 79; C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale Paris 1958, p.390, etc.

is free from all philosophical or other bias and yet does not distort reality. It seems, therefore, to have all the qualities necessary for the guiding thread of our investigation.

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182 Placed in a pre-determined environment, the Sarakatsani, like any other human being, must apply his ingenuity to the solution of his vital problems in a manner peculiar to him, and in that manner we can recognize the originality of his way of life.

Thus, if the present work is conducted from an anthropological

/4 cont./

121 182 perspective it must first of all be concerned with this originality and try to isolate it and bring it out. To achieve this it is important to specify clearly:

1. The concrete problems which the Sarakatsani must face.

2. The conditions and possibilities which his natural and human environment impose on him and offer him for the solution of these problems.

3. Finally, and above all, the system of actual solutions which the Sarakatsani has developed in relation to the two preceding points, hence the socio-cultural system of Sarakatsani society.

This last point will furnish an answer to the question posed above. Moreover, it will form the basis of our conclusions with regard to our knowledge of the Sarakatsani from their works.

To pass from the general to the particular, the problems the Sarakatsani faces are:

--Control of nature and the biological environment (plants, animals) for utilitarian ends.

--The relations of the Sarakatsani with his fellow man and with surrounding society, for the following purposes:

--a complete enjoyment of natural resources,

--a harmonious and effective coexistence,

--a way of life guaranteeing to all subsistence, security and posterity.

/5/ --His relations with the great beyond.

--Finally, problems relating to the esthetic of the Sarakatsani and his sense of beauty.

It will be seen that these problems, common to all societies, are in no way peculiar to him.

[361] [221] On the other hand, the conditions in which they must be resolved are altogether specific and derive from the fact that as shepherds the Sarakatsani live outside all urban or rural centers, spending the summer in the mountains, in winter in the valleys, according to the needs of their flocks.

/5 cont./

121 182 361 It is clear, therefore,-that the fundamental parameters of their existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 182 174 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

***

174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

(113) Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (7),

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/6 cont./

7. A. van Gennep: Compte rendu sur C. Hōeg: "Les Saracatsans", p. 211.

considers them (on the basis of a hypothesis) as descendants of the Turks settled in the country.

b) The Italian, A. Baldacci (8)

8. A. Baldacci: Itinerari Albanesi /Albanian Travel Diaries/, p. 106 and 254.

maintains that the Sarakatsani are originally Latin (Italiotes), who have become Hellenized.

c) The Rumanian, N. Jorga (9),

9. N. Jorga: Compte rendu sur C. Hōeg, p.243-45, and Histoire de Roumains de la péninsule des Balkans, p. 36.

calls them Rumanians who settled in Illyria (present-day Albania), and eventually became Hellenized.

d) The Yugoslav Const. Jirec'ek (10), The Hungarian,

10. C. Jirec'ek: Gesty do Bulgharsky, p. 220.

L. Thalocsy (11), the German Karl Oestreich (12) and the Bulgarian P. Ts'ilef (13), propose that the Sarakatsani are Hellenized Arumani.

11. L. Thalocsy: Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Balkanhalbinsel /Contributions to the History of the Settlement of the Balkan Peninsula/, p. 60.

12. K. Oestreich: Die Bevölkerung von Makedonien /The Population of Macedonia/, p. 287.

13. P. Ts'ilef: Les Saracatsans, p. 51 f.

The Rumanian authors P. Papahagi (14), T. Papahagi (15) and T. Capidan (16), likewise adhere to this last theory with this difference that they locate the origin of the Sarakatsani geographically in villages inhabited by the Koutsovalaques in southern Albania.

14. P. Papahagi: Numiri Etnice la Aromani, pages passim.

15. T. Papahagi: Compte rendu sur: C. Hōeg, p. 260 f.

174 (113) /6 cont./

16. T. Capidan: "Sărăcăcianii," (Compte rendu sur C. Höeg), p. 923 f.

174 114 However, none of these authors has been able to bring forward convincing proof in support of their theory about the foreign origin of the Sarakatsani. On the contrary, between Sarakatsani life and that of Rumanians, Arumani, Turks or Albanians there is no affinity or resemblance that would permit such a conclusion. The Hellenization of the Sarakatsani in the course of time, which these authors suggest in order to justify their theory, is an artificial hypothesis. In fact, the Sarakatsani have not mingled with or ever participated in peasant life, nor in the life of other nomads of the country. Now, if they were strangers and did not have contact with the natives how could they have had the opportunity to become Hellenized? Moreover, since they led a life apart from the other inhabitants of Greece, how could their isolation not have contributed to the /7/ preservation and survival rather than the disappearance of their original ethnic traits?

174 114 113 That is why a certain number of other authors, likewise of different nationalities, have maintained that the Sarakatsani are Greeks. They are:

--The Frenchmen L. Heuzey (17) and J. Ancel (18).

17. L. Heuzey: Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie p. 200.

18. J. Ancel: La Macédoine, p. 24.

--The Germans G. Stadmuller (19), A. Passow (20), A. Philipson (21), P. Kretschmer (22), Ed. Hermann (23), and P. Wahrmann (24).

19. G. Stadmüller: Problèmes relevant de l'étude historique de l'Épire, p. 156.

20. A. Passow: Carmina Popularia Graeciae Recentioris, p. 648.

21. A. Philipson: Thesalien und Epirus, p. 391.

22. P. Kretschmer: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 180.

174
114
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/7 cont./

23. Ed. Hermann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 1389.

24. P. Wahrmann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 359-363.

--The Austrian, A. Haberlandt (25).

25. A. Haberlandt: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 141.

--The Dane, Carsten Höeg (26).

26. C. Höeg: Les Saracatsans, p. 82 f.

--The Bulgarian, A. Ischirkoff (27).

27. A. Ischirkoff: Bulgarien, Land und Leute /Bulgaria, the country and the people/, vol. I, P. 31.

174
114

--Finally, the Greeks, K. Amantos (28), A. Kéramopoulos (29), N. Bées (30), St. Kyriakidès (31), M. Triantaphyllidès (32) (professors at the University of Athens and of Salonica), J. Vlachoyannis (33), P. Aravantinos (34), J. Lambridès (35), K. Krystallis (36), E. Tziantzios (37) and very recently D. Géorgakas (38) and Madame Ang. Hadjimichali (39).

28. Κ. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ : Σλάβοι καὶ Σλαυόφωνοι, p. 38.
29. Α. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ : Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι, p. 61.
30. Ν. ΒΕΗΣ : Σαρακατσαναῖοι.
31. Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ : Βιβλιοκρισία ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ C. Höeg, p. [illegible].
32. Μ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ, [illegible], p. 8.
33. Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ : Ν. Κασομούλης : Στρατιωτικὰ ἐνθυμήματα, p. 108.
34. Π. ΑΡΑΒΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ : Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου, p. 146-[illegible].
35. Ι. ΛΑΜΠΡΙΔΟΥ : Ἠπειρωτικὰ Μελετήματα, p. 19 et 50-51.
36. Κ. ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ : Οἱ Βλάχοι τῆς Πίνδου, p. 108.
37. Ε. ΤΖΙΑΝΤΖΙΟΥ : Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακατσάνων.
38. Δ. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑ : Περὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν Σαρακατσάνων, p. 64 et suiv.
39. Α. ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ : Σαρακατσάνοι, Α, I p. ϛ - μσ'.

These authors do not all agree on the moment when the Sarakatsani appeared. Some of them claim that their origin goes back to antiquity.

/7 cont./

174 114 Carsten Höeg, P. Aravantinos, K. Amantos, A. Kéramopoulos and Madame Hadjimichali strongly emphasize /8/ this idea. The Germans A. Kretschmer and P. Wharmann share the opinion of C. Höeg, but make no commentary. However, this theory, according to which the Sarakatsani would be Greek nomads going back to antiquity, does not seem to us justified. For in Greek or Latin literature one does not find any illusion by any ancient author to the existence of nomads on Greek soil. Indeed it seems that such a way of life did not exist among the Greeks. (40)

[113] 40. A. Philipson: Das Mittelmeergebiet /The Mediterranean Region/, p. 188.

Madame Hadjimichali tries to explain to us that the Greek writers were not particularly interested in the Sarakatsani since the nomads did not belong to any town and consequently did not really participate in political and historical life. Moreover, she maintains that Sarakatsani art represents a survival of neolithic Greek art and is consequently a proof of the antiquity of their origin.

We find that we must reject these arguments, first because Greek authors, on the contrary, were enormously interested in modes of life different from that of the city: Pausanias, Herodotus, Aristotle, etc., tell us much of it. But they never spoke of Greek nomadism. (41)

[113] 41. These authors were acquainted with nomadism. Aristotle: Politics, book I, chapter III, paragraph 4, in treating the problem of modes of life, mentions nomadism but does not cite it as one of the forms of life of the Hellenes.--Pausanias: Description de la Grèce /Description of Greece/, also speaks of it, three times: book I, chapter VII, paragraph 2, book I, chapter 21, paragraphs 5-6, book VIII, chapter 43, paragraph 3. All these instances concern the barbarians--Libyans (Marmaridès), Savromatès, Blacks, Scythians.

Thus, if nomadic life had existed, we would certainly find references in legends, tales, folksongs, etc.

/8 cont./

174 114 What reinforces our objections is the fact that even down the centuries, when the cities no longer existed, we do not find any trace liable to justify this conception. The absolute silence which covers the supposed existence of the Sarakatsani for century after century only confirms the theory that their appearance is much more recent.

Furthermore, the second argument of Madame Hadjimichali based on Sarakatsani art, furnishes no proof either, in view of the fact that it concerns geometric art which one finds almost everywhere (in Kabylia, in Morocco, in Finland, in Peru, in Polynesia, etc.). Moreover forms based on geometric designs can be repeated, without this fact constituting proof of continuity. For these forms are limited by definition.

/9/ Thus it seems that this argumentation is not acceptible.

174 On the other hand, a careful and searching analysis of the idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani in conjuction with a certain number of facts which we shall enumerate below authorizes us to say that we are concerned with a group of sedentary Greek peasants who, from all evidence, were uprooted from their homes during the fourteenth century following an event thereof an unknown nature, and who sought refuge in the mountain region where, in order to survive, the began to practice herding and, as a consequence, nomadism.

This theory which has been proposed by the Greek scholar D. Georgakas, cited above, (42) rests on a number of facts:

1. The idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani is one formed in the northern part of the country before the fourteenth century. Since the Sarakatsani live isolated from other Hellenes, it would be inconceivable to suppose that they existed earlier than their language. If they had, how could we explain that the latter does not include more archaic elements, since this is the case among the populations of some Greek islands and among the Greeks of the Trebizond region? Nor can their isolation be subsequent to this date.

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42. See p. 14

/9 cont./

174 [166] 2. The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

> 43. Anne Commène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

> 44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

[173] [162] /10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of

[113] [114] this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth

/10 cont./
174 century by Eustace, Bishop of Salonika entitled "Folklore"
113 (Ta Laographika), edited and annotated by Professor F. Koukoulès
114 (in two volumes, Athens, publication of the Society of Macedonian Studies, 1950)--can be of no use for lack of details.

The same is true of the other work of Professor F. Koukoulès: Vie et Civilisation Byzantines (Vol. I-VI, published in Greek in the Collection of the French Institute of Athens, 1947-1957) for although it includes a wealth of details, it gives information only about urban life.

174 Thus, the arguments presented above permit us to conclude that the Sarakatsani constitute neither an ethnic minority nor a special race, but a part of the Hellenic population, which is distinguishable from the others by the originality of its life-style.

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121 This digression ended, we should like to say that the preceding findings, bearing on the special problems which the Sarakatsani must solve and on the conditions under which these problems must find their solution, have already presented the framework for the present work. As far as our conclusions are concerned, we shall attempt, in an essay of synthesis and explanation, to show the broad principles on which Sarakatsani society and culture are based and to try to examine them from a dynamic perspective, that of the process of their formation and of /11/ the function that has been imparted to them. We shall likewise examine, from the same point of view, the constituent elements of the society and culture of the Sarakatsani and their mutual relationships. Finally, we shall concern ourselves with the character of the culture and the human type corresponding to their socio-cultural system, and we shall close on some findings about the reasons for their [sic] decline.

It remains for us only to present, in a few words, the method and techniques used in carrying out the present work.

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/11 cont./

123 The pages which follow show the research that we carried on
124 "in the field" and on the basis of the existing published data. In
126 the field we practiced both the extensive and the intensive methods, depending on the situation and the local possibilities. Techniques chiefly used were: direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews, and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life.

124 As informants we chose and questioned more than one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, whose social positions were as diverse as possible.

114 The map on p. 5 shows the geographic points at which we centered
128 our enquiry. In addition, the reader will find in this work a certain number of plates and drawings which illustrate our subject and complete our descriptions.

113 As far as bibliography is concerned we must state that no work of analysis on this subject exists and there are only a small number of ethnographic studies, which are listed and evaluated in the pages that follow:

--Carsten Höeg: Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque.

This book, bearing chiefly on the study of the Sarakatsani idiom contains an ethnographic note which, in our opinion, is a good introduction for the reader. However, it is only an introduction and is therefore limited.

Nevertheless, the linguistic part is very interesting and its conclusions continue to remain valid.

In the second volume of this work Monsieur Höeg reproduces some Sarakatsani stories and songs in a compilation very useful to the investigator.

/12/ --D. Géorgakas: De l'origine des Saracatsan et de leur dénomination (in Greek). A very learned study which presents an excellent systematic and critical account of all the theories concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani. It also contains some well documented ethnological data. However, since this study is very specialized it remains limited.

113 /12 cont./
--The study, or several studies (in Greek) by a pharmacist, B. Skafidas who, working as an amateur, has gathered considerable ethnographic material: a) "Les Saracatsans ou les Saracatsanais"; b) "Les Saracatsans--leur vie, leurs moeurs, leur coutumes".

These studies, of which the second duplicates the first and completes it, are genuinely interesting, although sometimes the author seems to consider some of the phenomena recorded by him as characteristic of Sarakatsani life when in reality these are customs followed by other social groups as well. Although the non-expert reader must consult these works cautiously, the contribution of Monsieur Skafidas is real and accomplished.

We shall mention next the study by Madame Joannidès-Barbarigou, ethnographer of merit on the staff of "Archives Folkloriques de l'Académie d'Athènes," on "Huttes des Saracatsan" (published in Greek). Although short, the study is good because of its clarity and precision and is regrettable that its author did not have an opportunity to work more thoroughly in this field. Nevertheless, this work, though brief, is valuable and very interesting.

114 Finally, it is necessary to mention particularly the numerous works on the Sarakatsani by Madame A. Hadjimichali, a Greek ethnographer of renown, culminating in her most recent very lengthy work.

Madame Hadjimichali lived several years among the Sarakatsani and her work is considered authoritative, not only in Greece, but in international ethnographic circles. We believe that modern Greece owes her special recognition for her contribution to the enormous task of the study of Neo-Hellenism. (45)

> 45. We mean by this term the social and cultural life of Greeks from the eighteenth century to our day, a period during which the nation is moving towards its independence and its renaissance.

113 It seems regrettable to us that her large work in Greek which/13/ bears the general title Les Saracatsans has still not been published in

/13 cont./
113 its entirety. Only the first part has appeared in two volumes, of which the first volume deals with general topics, and the second with professional life, building, food getting and the technique of manufacturing wooden objects, with comments on the decorative motifs carved into these objects.

In any case, Madame Hadjimichali announces, as soon forthcoming, the publication of two more large volumes of the work, devoted to weaving and clothing, along with the corresponding techniques; to the relation between life and work; the family; the different stages of life; religious worship and beliefs; magic and superstition; folk medicine; tales, songs and finally dances.

The volumes that have appeared represent a very rich collection of material, especially valuable since a number of traits, long recorded, have already disappeared, wiped out by the rapid modernization of the Sarakatsani.

114 It is truly regrettable that Madame Hadjimichali did not have recourse, at the time of her investigation and the drafting of her book, to a sufficiently searching analysis to match her great talents and undeniable calling. Thus, the solutions to many problems going beyond simple description have remained obscure. One might even add that the description of certain phenomena would be different if the author had considered them more systematically. On the other hand, in a great number of cases her interpretations of observed phenomena cannot be accepted.

May Madame Hadjimichali, as well as other investigators we have mentioned, kindly forgive us for these remarks which do not mean that we do not appreciate their work, of that we do not have great respect for the authors.

As P. Sorokin says of science: "...it appeared with criticism, has grown with criticism and it lives with criticism...Otherwise, instead of a scientific sociology we will have a pseudo-scientific complimentary art having nothing in common with a real science." (46)

114 /13 cont./

[113] 46. P. Sorokin: Les théories Sociologiques..., p. 17. /English taken from the original text in P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York; Harper, 1928. p. xxiii/

127 As far as we are concerned, we have used the bibliography
128 mentioned in order to: 1) To present certain phenomena formerly existing that has disappeared at the time of our inquiry; /14/ 2) complete the gaps in our own inquiry; and 3) present interpretations which certain authors have set forth about some phenomena, and, occasionally, to discuss the differences between their point of view and our own. All these cases have been specifically indicated in our text.

128 On the other hand, as far as the descriptions are concerned, we do not cite the authors whose observations coincide with ours. That is
[114] because, once in the field, we worked as though nothing had been written on the Sarakatsani; we wanted to form an idea about them which was absolutely our own and study their life thoroughly in order to be able to explain it afterwards. Thus, our text was written from the material that we ourselves collected, with the exception of the cases mentioned above.

(127) Perhaps it should also be added that all the works cited are either descriptive or centered on linguistic analysis. Hence our own
(121) contribution consists of the "anthropological" study of the Sarakatsani which, as far as we know, has never been done till now.

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000 To conclude this introduction we wish to thank all those who directly or indirectly facilitated our task: The old Sarakatsani chiefs N. Tzoumanis, A. Katsoulas, J. Yannakis, P. Karaïskow and the teacher of Tchépélovo, E. Yannakos. Our friends, B. Koutsoumbas and G. Katsambékis, likewise Sarakatsani. The lawyers of Sarakatsani origin, Chr. Karaïskos and N. Tsiamis. The veterinarian M.A. Constandinidès, Madame Fr. Ioannidès, Monsieur and Madame Saliveros, Monsieur and Madame Clonaris, and many others whom we are not able to mention for lack of space but whom we think of with gratitude. May all these persons

/14 cont./

000 kindly accept here the expression of our thanks.

128 We wish to thank also our colleague, Madame Y. Roux, whose help in the revision of our text has been particularly valuable.

000 Finally, I wish to recall my debt to my wife to whom this work, like all the others, owes so much.

/14a/

PART ONE

/14b/ /blank/

/15/

Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « [illegible] » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

1. *Milieu et techniques*, p. 361.

in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

2. Ibid., p. 361.

that is to say, "an extremely complex solution of mental traditions." (3)

3. Ibid., p. 354.

128 This first part will deal with these phenomena: We shall see the Sarakatsani version of this relationship, the way in which our herders manage to converse with nature.

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/17/

Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of Sarakatsani Society and Culture

16
114 One can only regret that a complete analysis of the Sarakatsani demographic phenomena is not possible for lack of statistical data.

16
123
124
127 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.
127 and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.
Thus, there is evidence that:
163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their
families are very large, and the number of children that play around the
858 huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth,"
842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of
562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is
based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and
it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the
[582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy;
as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.
162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information
[582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114] 2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.
[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large
[178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka
near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition
towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-
Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).
165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the
Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity
is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic
state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told
us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani
cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the
average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years.
[217] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3)
one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses. However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and
586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden.
587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361
221 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is demographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4) of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

[113] 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XX^e^ siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

/19 cont./

361 221 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5) that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

233 [133] In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats. [137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with their scrub vegetation. (6)

[113] 6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 233 22 36 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone, and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[171] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./

233 221 361 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in summer during the night and shut them in their pens during the day.

[171] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

233 221 361 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 463 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the problem. 233 463 114 It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10) believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them. [113] to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

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9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

12. Aristotle: Politics.

/20 cont./

233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also
moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and
southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the
region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.

178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the
repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic,
as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

***

361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two
distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/
men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry.
We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

/22 cont./

361 221 233 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 233 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 221 233 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above, and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for [417] [824] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance [231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The [621] [474] [612] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/23 cont./

361 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the
621 isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to
474 the chief, and the whole to the Tséligato.
612

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The
[776] Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

***

361 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word,
233 of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense
474 that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates
233 again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions
relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The
examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology
of herding.

***

621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from
this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation
and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates
social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The
first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks.
The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the
winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of
the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the
socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance
with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of
the encounter.

/24 cont./

128 The pages that follow will show how Sarakatsani society deals with these problems. From another standpoint, they will illustrate the process of interaction of Saraktsani civilization with its morpho-ecological base. Thus the problem of the integration of this partial aspect with the whole will find its solution.

/25/

Chapter II

The Technology of the Sarakatsani

121 Properly speaking, technology is a psychosomatic process. This process, which asserts itself in a given natural environment and a given social framework (1) presents the following characteristics:

(113) 1. See André Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, pp. 355 and 361.--M. Mauss: Les Techniques et la Technologie, in: Mayerson, L. Febvre, A. Aymard, etc: Le Travail et les Techniques, p. 71-78.--A. Varagnac: L'homme et les techniques pré-machinistes in: J. Cassou, G. Friedmann, C. Durtain, M. Bloch, J. Luc, A. Varagnac, etc.: L'homme, la technique et la nature, p. 54.--M. Bloch: Technique et Évolution sociale, op. cit., p. 30. --J.A. Mauduit: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135.--K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, French translation p. 74-75.

1. It enables /one/ to dominate and exploit the forces and possibilities offered by nature.

2. Its development is a function of these, on the one hand, and of society on the other hand. The latter determines at one and the same time the needs to be met and the manner of doing so, by accumulating knowledge, beliefs and experience acquired in the course of time, as well as by providing the agents entrusted with various tasks.

And it also asserts itself in creations and inventions.

Thus, in technology, nature and society meet.

In order to study it, one may consider technology as a process of action on inert material for the purpose of manufacturing various

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

***

The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/26 cont./

222 313 824 *Wood*, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.

312 *Edible plants* used for food. It is necessary to add to these the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, *water*.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

237 824 *The principal raw materials* are: wood, wool and skins, hence fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, *L'homme et la matière*, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 323 285 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

/27 cont./

323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 [439] As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

224 237 [386] /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties: coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of [381] wool, etc.), serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/28 cont./

412 These objects are obtained in trade with surrounding society and need
[439] not particularly engage our attention. However, there remain the
[325] metal cutting tools (small knives, scissors, gouges, borers) for
more delicate work (fig. 1 gives us an idea of these), which our herders themselves make by means of a file, starting with an old razor blade.

322 The manipulation of the tools in question is carried out by
412 striking either stationary or by a thrusting motion /lancée?/ depending on the kind of tool and its use in concrete pieces of work (the making of cups or the ornamentation of a distaff, for example). It is necessary to emphasize that among the /29/ Sarakatsani there is no device for producing a rotary movement with borers. The perforation is made by hand, and it is the latter which, should the occasion arise, turns the borer (with an alternating movement).

322 For other purposes, the wood used comes from all kinds of species:
824 (4) wild olive, alder, oak, wild pear, dogwood, chestnut, plane tree, pine, walnut, cypress, willow, elm, beech, plum, cedar, fir, boxwood,

412

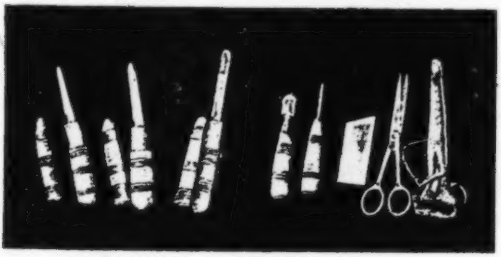

Fig. 1

322 heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these
[824] woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

/29 cont./

322 softer, it is left lying in butter for about a month.

This process is likewise applied to a certain number of hard woods.

Wood intended for sculpture or carving must be boiled in water for several hours. When it is a matter of bending a trunk, they soak it for four or five days or else heat it in the fire.

/30/ And now here are the various objects made from these woods and with these tools:

Household objects

[352] [412] Household objects may be divided into furniture (providing rudimentary comfort for daily life inside the dwellings), and implements used in housework.

352 Sarakatsani furniture is scant and very simple. One may list:

A table for meals, called tavla and sometimes sofras (fig. 2 and 3).

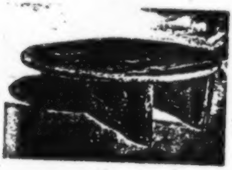

Fig. 2

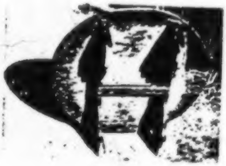

Fig. 3

Sometimes round, 60 centimeters in diameter, sometimes rectangular, this table is made of boards oppropriately cut. It consists of a top and legs (pieces of wood 30 to 40 centimeters high, nailed perpendicularly to the under side of the top).

It is extremely low table, for the diners take their meals squatting around it. Sometimes the tavla does not have legs and rests directly on the ground. This form, as a matter of fact, is older than the other.

A cradle: in the book by Madame Hadjimichali previously cited she shows the sketch of a cradle in the form of a moccasin hollowed out directly from a tree trunk and provided with a handle for carrying. (5)

/30 cont./

5. Ibid., A, II, p. 355.

352 [114] This cradle probably no longer exists, for we ourselves, in the course of our investigation in the field, were never able to find one anywhere.

/31/

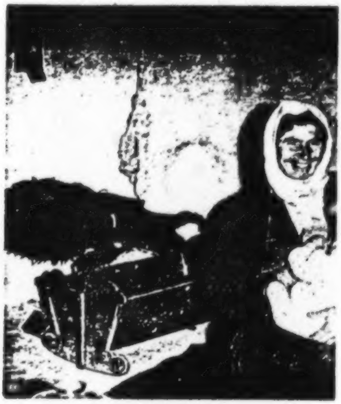

Fig. 4

The only type of cradle that we came across among the nomads did not differ to any extent from that used by the peasants, and it is always made with boards (fig 4).

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

/32 cont./

415 hollows on its upper side. The bread is put into these after kneading, and left to rise before baking (fig. 7).

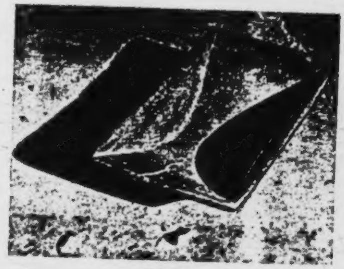

Fig. 6

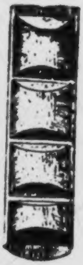

Fig. 7

The plastiri is a circular tray 60 centimeters in diameter on which the Sarakatsani women knead the dough of unleavened bread. It is likewise on this tray that they flatten out the fylla or pastry leaves for flat-cakes (see below, chapter on food) (fig. 8).

412 /33/ The plastis which is used to stretch out the pastry is a sort of rolling pin 70 centimeters long and three centimeters in diameter (fig. 8).

415 Kitchen utensils and dishes

412
415

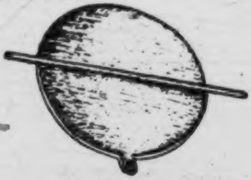

Fig. 8

/33 cont./

415 Since nearly all the utensils of this sort are metal--and are therefore not made by the Sarakatsani themselves--the only things left to describe here are:

412 The Kafki, a kind of wooden bowl cut out in quantity. It is used
415 at times as a mortar, at times as a single plate set in the center of

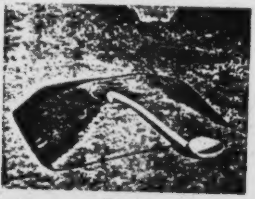

Fig. 9

the table within reach of all the diners; individual plates are unknown.

412 The spoons and spatulas of wood, likewise made in quantity, are used for eating, as well as to stir the contents of cooking pots (fig. 9).

415.

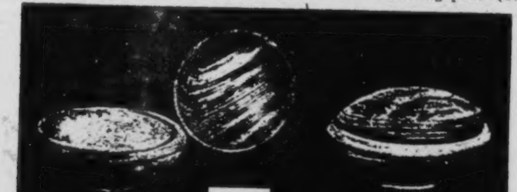

Fig. 10

/34/ The glasses, or rather the cups, are also made of wood.

The klidhopinako, finally, is a sort of double bowl, of wood, the two parts of which fit together hermetically. That is why this object often serves as a food container by the shepherds, who can thus carry liquid and warm food during their long watches in the pastures (fig. 10).

3: Kabbadias--43   E-4,5   (no date) 1965   EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/34 cont./

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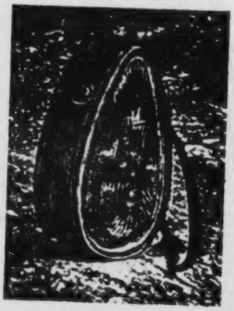

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

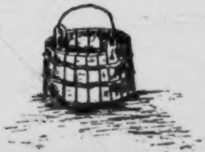

Fig. 13

3: Kabbadias--44 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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415
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Fig. 14

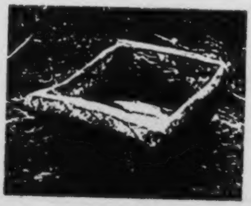

Fig. 16

Fig. 15

Fig. 17

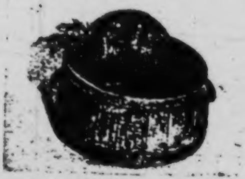

Fig. 18

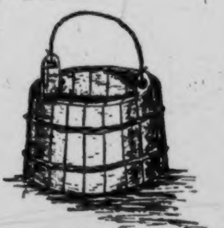

Fig. 19

/36 /

412 415 824 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood, oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] [178] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 415 296 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho, a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 234 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

[824] The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

/37 cont./

415 of fir tree which, at one end, has four of its stems in the form of
234 a cross. The extremities of this cross are connected by a stalk held
824 firmly in place with cord from plants. The end of the plunger thus
looks like a wheel set perpendicularly on its axis (figs. 20 and 21).

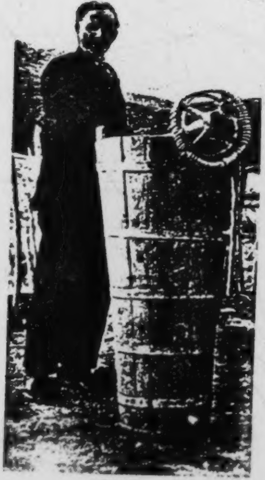

Fig. 20

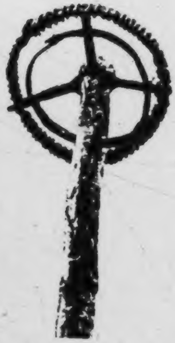

Fig. 21

415 /38/

234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).
251

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

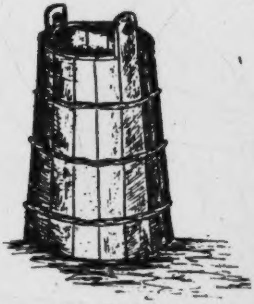

Fig. 22

283
824
→

Fig. 23

/38 cont./

283 Equipment related to weaving and wool

This equipment includes:

The distaff: there are two kinds of distaffs found among the Sarakatsani.

[824] The first is merely a tree branch 60 centimeters long which ends in a three-pronged fork onto which the tuft of wool is fastened (fig. 23).

/39/ The second is made up of two parts: first, a branch of the same length as that we have described makes up the vertical part of the distaff; a small, board fastened perpendicularly to the preceding part forms a cross ready to receive the tuft (fig. 24 and 25).

[531]

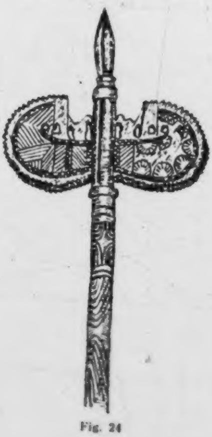

Fig. 24

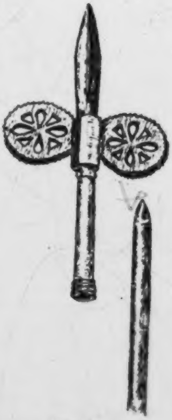

Fig. 25

/39 cont./

283 However, one finds variations, the most interesting of which is this: the vertical part is flattened at its upper end, thus producing the form of a lyre (fig. 26).

The bobbin which is fundamentally only an accessory of the distaff is the principal twisting tool and the object around which one winds the spun wool (winding-on). It consists of two parts: one is the bobbin properly speaking, or the spindle; the other, the weight is /40/ a piece of hard wood in the shape of a truncated cone pierced at the two ends, so that it can set on the spindle (fig. 106 [probably a misprint; reference seems to be to Fig. 26]).

[142]
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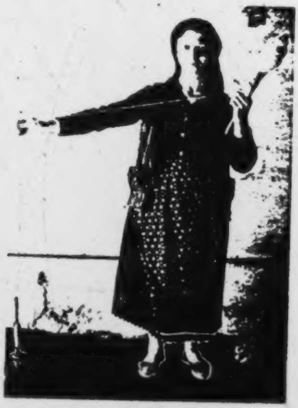

Fig. 26

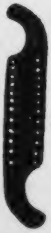

Fig. 27

286 The idiastra: this is a thin wood or board in the shape of an elongated rectangle (4 x 30 centimeters), each of the two long sides of which is pierced with regularly spaced holes, and the ends of which are shaped like handles (fig. 27). It resembles a draw-plate /filiere?/.

/40 cont./

286 This instrument is used for the most important of the operations preliminary to weaving, namely the warping, and its function is to prevent the thread from tangling when one prepares the warp of the loom.

In this connection it is perhaps necessary to mention that to mount the warp they use five pegs. However, the latter do not have any special interest from the point of view of "construction."

236 There is the carding tool, which serve to comb out the strands of wool after washing. It consists of two rectangular boards each of which has, /41/ on one of its sides, a certain number of metal needles (points), while on the free surface one sees, respectively, on one of the boards a handle and, on the other, a rope 60 centimeters long which ends in a wooden cylinder to which it is attached. Drawing No. 29 shows both this instrument and how it is used. (see also fig. 28).

[291]
[516]

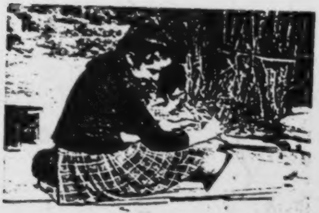

Fig. 28

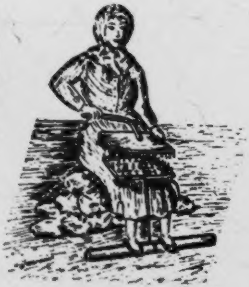

Fig. 29

/42/

286 /42/ The weaving loom: there are two kinds of looms among the [432] Sarakatsani. The first is made by them, while the second is bought from peasant artisans (fig. 30 and 31).

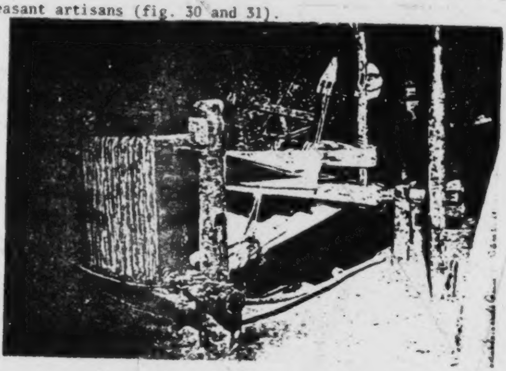

Fig. 30

The requirements of this study are such that it is the first type of loom which will be described here, especially since the second /type/ is not integrated in the traditional life of the Sarakatsani.

This loom is very simple. (7)

It is composed of six posts driven into the ground in two parallel rows and placed opposite each other as though delineating a rectangle. These posts are of unequal height. The tallest are in the center; those placed in front of the weaver, very short, measure approximately 20 centimeters, while the posts placed at the opposite extremity are almost 70 centimeters high; those in the center reach 1.50 meters.

---

7. For a description of this loom we are using the terminology and outline given by A. Leroi-Gourhan in L'homme et matière, p. 239 f., while keeping the originality appropriate to our subject.

/43/

286 /43/ Two cylindrical pieces 90 centimeters in length, rest horizontally on the pair of posts at the two ends. These each have a groove approximately 60 centimeters long into which the wrap is first drawn and then rolled. These pieces which can turn or be locked by a very simple mechanism form the cylinder of the loom and the beam on which the woven fabric is wound.

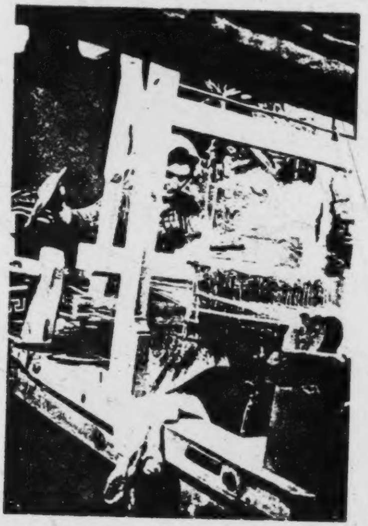

Fig. 31

However, here it is necessary to mention a novel detail: the posts intended for the beam bearing the warp sometimes show a /44/ second groove toward the lower part. It is in this groove that one then places another cylinder of wood (small tree trunk) called the upper beam, which serves to hold the threads of the warp.

286 /44 cont./

One of the two ends of each bean is pierced transversely. And it is by introducing of a stalk into this hole and attaching it by means of a cord that one obtains the simple mechanism for locking and turning mentioned above.

On the two high center posts another small tree trunk is set and from it are suspended the parts that serve to raise the threads alternately, and by means of which one weaves, that it to say, the two heddles on the one hand and the batten on the other.

The batten which holds the comb that presses together the threads of the weft at each passage through, is itself attached at the top to two sticks of wood called swords /?/.

The heddles (each framed along their entire length by two stalks of reed) are set in motion by ascending and descending movements and suspended by ropes, or rather by a harness, on pulleys. [432] They are made by the Sarakatsani themselves, whereas the batten is bought commercially.

The servicable breadth of the heddles, and consequently that of the batten and of the weave that can be produced, is approximately 60 cnetimeters.

The movement of the heddles is controlled by two pedals, two treadles parallel to the warp, the alternate action of which brings about the spreading apart of the threads of the warp, thus permitting the introduction of the shuttle, on the center quill of which is wound

Fig. 32

/44 cont./

286 the /45/ weft thread (fig. 32). These pedals are set in a small trench hollowed out in the ground at the center of the loom, so that the weaver can sit on the ground at the edge of the trench. (8)

[171] 8. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in his work L'homme et la matière, p. 306, says that one finds this trench in African looms, Prince Peter of Greece, for his part, informed us that the nomadic peoples of Asia (Ba'laisie community, Yezd, Central Iran--Turkoman, Allali, Andklui, N.E. Afganistan) use a loom of the same type. It would be interesting to know whether the African looms of which A. Leroi-Gourhan speaks belong to nomadic or sedentary peoples. Thus one could ask oneself whether the simplicity of this loom, lacking a bench for the weaver is the result of the needs of travel, or if the way of life on the bare ground is reflected in the construction of the loom.

This construction fully justifies the name which the Sarakatsani have given this loom. They call it "trench loom"; it is extremely simple to transport, as is appropriate for nomads.

23[illegible] Objects pertaining to the safety of the animals

These consist of collars for the animals and the shepherds staff.

The first are made of a fir branch, flexible and flattened, one end of which has a slit while the other is shaped into a hook. Once the collar is placed around the neck, the hook catches in the slit, thus making a simple and strong closing. The shepherds suspend a bell from the collar, the sound of which tells them the place where the animal is (fig. 33).

/45 cont./

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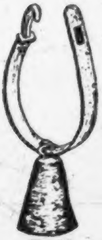

Fig. 33

Fig. 34

The second /object/ consists of a very long shaft (approximately two meters) ending in a very curved handle. The latter serves to catch by a hind leg the animals that try to move away from the flock. The curve of the handle is calculated in such a way that a foot goes through it easily but with a tight fit. Thus this curve varies according to the kind of animal. It is wider for goats and narrower for ewes. The [826] [804] Sarakatsani use the second joint of the thumb to measure it. It seems that the thickness of this joint corresponds to the size of the feet of the ewes (fig. 34).

236 /46/ Crafts dependent on wool.

Wool is the raw material which the Sarakatsani use almost exclusively to make their clothing, their covers and rugs. Cotton [197] has been introduced only recently among them in the form of thread which they buy commercially.

/46 cont./

236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing

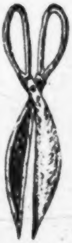

Fig. 35

Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously, [432] the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

[527] If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

/46 cont./

236 [527] all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

[221] [462] The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats. However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

[221] [232] It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to relieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

[412] Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29)[A] is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

[A] [See p. 58--Analyst]

/47 cont./

236 her feet;. With her right hand the carder holds the upper board by its handle. Finally, with the left hand, she brings the tufts of wool between the toothed surfaces of the boards.

Sorting: it is done in the course of the carding. The longest strands are put aside as the carding proceeds and are reserved for the manufacture of the better fabrics, those which are used for making clothing. The short strands are for other uses.

[283] It is also during the carding that the wool is prepared in advance for spinning; each two or three cardfuls make a distaff-feel.

283 Spinning: the bunches are then placed on the /48/ distaff. Once this is loaded, the Sarakatsani woman starts to spin by using a spindle. (10)

10. The three stages of this operation among the Sarakatsani, as elsewhere, are: drawing out, twisting and winding on. See A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, p. 259.

The handling of the spindle varies according to the quality of the yarn one wishes to obtain. If one wishes to prepare fine yarn for clothing, the spindle is suspended by the thread itself and turned freely in the air (fig. 26).A On the other hand, if the thread

A [See p. 49--Analyst]

/48 cont./

283 is intended for making covers, velentza, as well as rugs, the spindle is turned by the hand of the spinner, and this process, called drougha, produces a thicker thread (fig. 36).

[291]

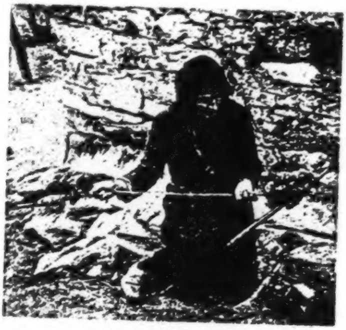

Fig. 36

It is obvious that the position of the distaff is different in each of the two instances.

The wool of goats is always spun by the second method.

The yarn intended for the warp of the textile to be produced is twisted less than that used for the weft. Moreover, when a very fine thread is required, the Sarakatsani women place themselves at the top of a rock and let the spindle fall into space.

/49/

283 /49/ The Sarakatsani women spin constantly, whenever their hands
[482] are free. It is altogether common to see a woman spinning as she walks,
[313] her back loaded with a huge bundle of firewood or a tub full of water,
in addition to a nursing child.

Winding: the spinning finished, the spinner frees the spindle and, by hand, winds the thread into balls.

294
386 Dyeing: the natural colors of sheep wool are white, black, and in rare instances, brown. The goat wool is gray-black or, exceptionally, a very dark chestnut.

It seems that, traditionally and even recently, the Sarakatsani esthetic was content with the natural color of the wool. Thus, the decorative motifs of the women's clothing were white on a black background. (The men's clothing, or rather the articles they make themselves do not have decorations).

386 However, recently, the Sarakatsani have adopted bright colors (red, yellow or green) for their blankets and their rugs. They have thus learned to dye the wool by using chemical dyes (aniline) bought commercially.

283
386 In order to facilitate permeation, they arrange the wool to start with in hanks which they call vanda. In order to form a vanda they undo a ball by winding the thread around the forearm, that is to say, between the wrist and the elbow. This traditional process is also used during

/49 cont./

283 the preparation of the loom.

386 The rest of the procedure "dyeing with aniline colors" is not of particular interest ethnographically, hence it will not be treated here.

386 The Sarakatsani also dye the fabrics intended for the making of garments. The technique that applies to it will be described in a separate paragraph.

The preparation of the loom.

286 When these various procedures are finished, the yarn is ready to be woven. However, before setting to work, the women must prepare the loom.

These preparations include:

- --mounting the warp,
- --installing it on the loom,
- --finally, preparing the shuttles.

/50/ Mounting the warp is a task both complicated and delicate, which requires a series of micro-procedures.

The most important procedure is that which consist of warping the loom.

In order better to understand the detail of this procedure let us suppose that the warp is but a single thread.

Five pegs approximately 30 centimeters high are planted in the ground according to the arrangement indicated in the following diagram:

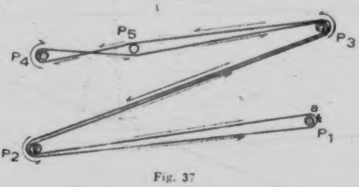

Fig. 37

/50 cont./

When the pegs have been set, the weaver starts to wind the yarn around them. She starts from point a of peg P 1. The yarn is wound around the other pegs as indicated by the arrows. It crosses between pegs P 4 and P 5, after which it is brought back to the point of departure where it is knotted at its initial extremity. The worker has thus obtained a closed circuit, through the crossing back of threads at one point.

The description of the operation pertaining to a single thread permits us to understand what actually happens.

Since a warp customarily has 500 to 600 threads, it is obviously impossible to wind them one by one. Thus, the weaver takes bunches of 25 to 30 at a time. This bunch of threads is called a "head." In order to put them on the loom she uses the idiastra, the instrument we have already described (fig. 27),[A] which serves a double purpose: on the one hand, to facilitate threads. The latter are threaded into the holes of the idiastra and their ends are fastened to peg P 1.

Thus, a double circuit of threads is obtained which is made up of 12 components on each side.

/51/ The weaver holds the idiastra in her right hand by one of its handles and vertically in relation to the ground; she begins to draw the threads around peg P 2 which is on the right. There, she changes hands and, taking the idiastra in her left hand, she proceeds to P 3, passing around it so that the idiastra remains at the left. She changes hands again and, now holding the idiastra in her right hand, she arrives at peg no. 4 which she leaves to the right, winding around peg no. 5, carries the threads to peg no. 4 and hence goes to the left, and returning successively to pegs 3, 2 and 1. Thus, between pegs 4 and 5 the threads are crossed. The procedure recommences until the number of threads desired are placed in postion and crossed. The nappe /span?/ of the warp is approximately 60 centimeters wide and its length depends on the fabric one wishes to produce. In general, among the Sarakatsani, the nappe is long. (1)

[A] [See p.49--Analyst]

/51 cont./

286 11. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 293.

Let us now pass to the phase in the preparation of the loom which consists in transferring the warp onto the loom and involves another series of micro-procedures.

[291]

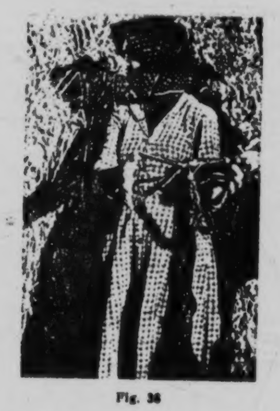

Fig. 38

The warp threads are first tied together at three points with a string. These points are set by pegs P 1, P 4 and P 5 (the branches of the crossing).

Then the warp threads are lifted from the pegs, plaited almost like hair, so that they can be put aside until the time when they are used (fig. 38).

Next, on the two posts that are 80 centimeters high and set in the ground at approximately one meter intervals one puts the beam--the one which is placed at the end of the loom opposite the weaver. /52/ It is on this beam that the plait of warp threads will be wound.

286 /52 cont./

To this end one inserts the top of the outside loop of the crossed threads into the slit in the beam (see description of the loom pp. 51-54) and wedges it into this slit with a stick.

In order to preserve the crossing one then introduces, on either side, two sticks (two reeds) three centimeters in diameter and two meters in length. Then one undoes the plait as well as the fastening and starts to turn the beam on the posts while keeping the warp very taut. Thus the warp is wound, while the crossing of the threads, preserved by the sticks, (12) moves forward little by little to the opposite end.

This process is followed by what is called beloniasma which is equivalent to rentrage /?/. What is involved here is the insertion of the warp threads into the heddles placed on the other side of the two sticks and consequently beyond the point where they are crossed. The threads of the warp are inserted, one by one, alternately into the noose of each heddle, after which they pass across the teeth of the beater and end at the beam where they are firmly secured.

When the warp is mounted on the loom, the latter is ready for action.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention further details, for the process of rentrage varies according to the fabric one wishes to produce.

For a simple fabric which is made with two heddles, one passes the threads two by two across the teeth of the beater.

For the kaltsoskoutti fabric, a name which may be translated "knit weave" one passes the threads three by three.

12. The same sticks whech are also used on the loom serve as spreading rods. A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 294.

/52 cont./

286 There remains the preparation of the bobbins for the shuttle.

283 We have already said that the yarn, whether dyed or not, is
286 wound into balls. For it to be transferred to the quill of the shuttle. it must be given the shape of a spindle. The women therefore wind the yarn on the distaff and remove it as soon as it is loaded, so that the yarn wound around itself forms a cylinder, and the quill is placed into its cavity.

286 And this final micro-process completes /53/ the preparations for weaving, which we shall now describe in detail.

Weaving. - procedures and products.

In general, weaving presupposes the passing of the shuttle through the "shed" of the warp, the successive working of each of the treadles

/53 cont./

moving the two heddles, and one or more thrusts of the beater; these steps are necessary whether the fabric is intended for garments, blankets or rugs.

Using this classic method, the Sarakatsani produce various kinds of fabrics:

A simple fabric in wool or in cotton and wool.

The kaltsoskoutti fabric meant chiefly for the making of women's skirts and men's leggings.

The velentza blanket, made with thick sheep wool yarn that has been twisted by the "drougha" method.

The toslia rugs woven half in sheep wool, half in goat wool.

The coarse goat wool fabric used to make shepherd capes.

Peculiarities are to be noted in connection with the weaving of twill of the flokotti and karamelotti blankets and of rugs called thiliasto or fouskotto. These peculiarities reside sometimes in a variation of the number of heddles and consequently the number of treadles, at other times in the method of weaving.

Let us examine first the twill weave, the very closely woven serge (woven in a diagonal). To obtain it, one places on the loom four heddles to which correspond four treadles.

In order to facilitate the description of the following process, let us number the treadles from left to right. We thus have treadles number 1, 2, 3, and 4. The weaver works treadle no. 1, opens the shed, passes the shuttle through and strikes the beater. Without raising her foot, she works treadle no. 4 and continues as before. Then she shifts her feet and steps on treadle no. 2, then treadle no. 3 without releasing no. 2, passing the shuttle and striking the beater successively after each movement of the treadles.

The flokotti blanket imitates, so to speak, the hide of /54/ the sheep. One should picture a thick wool shag, the hairy side of which looks like fur (fig. 39).

/54 cont./

286 In order to produce this shag the weaver first passes the shuttle from two to seven times through the shed while of course, successively working the treadles. Then she slips through the "shed" a weft which makes a peculiar ball. Once the weft is inserted from one end of the warp to the other, she pulls it out by inserting the fingers of the left hand between each couple of threads of the warp, to a height of five centimeters. Thereupon she gives two or three strikes of the beater. The loops of thread thus formed, very compact, remain unaltered.

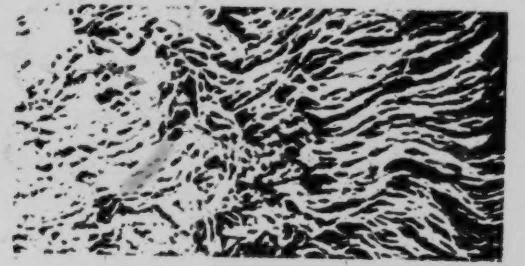

Fig. 39

The procedure is repeated until the flokotti weave is finished.

As soon as this blanket is completely woven, the loops are cut at a certain point with scissors.

The rug called thiliasto or fouskotto is in fact only a variation of this kind of blanket. Here the procedure is the same, except for one detail. Inasmuch as the diameter of the small loops forming the shag is reduced to one centimeter, a rod which formerly served to load guns is pushed into these loops, in order to keep them in place before they are pressed together by the striking of the beater. And the distinguishing feature lies in the fact that one does not cut these loops which remain as they are.

/54 cont./

286 Finally, there are /55/ the karanelotti blankets, which have
531 colored geometric designs. (13) They are woven with six heddles, and consequently with the same number of treadles: moreover, several shuttles loaded with multicolored wefts are used (14) (fig. 40).

[171] 13. The French blankets called "Pyrenees" looked similar.

14. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in *L'homme et la matière*, p. 306, gives an excellent description of the technique of weaving geometric forms from a loom provided with several heddles. We have nothing to add to it.

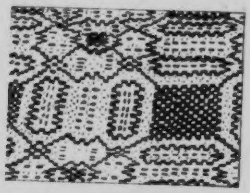

Fig. 40

286 *Fulling*.

All the wool fabrics, as well as the blankets and rugs, must, before being used, undergo another procedure which consists of exposing them to the action of water in order to give them a certain finish.

Thanks to fulling, they tighten and become firm; and "flokotti," owe their furry appearance to this procedure.

Fulling is carried out either in a fulling mill or by means of a *mandani*.

The fulling mill consists chiefly of an artificial waterfall placed above a large wooden trough sunk in the ground. All the blankets (except the karamelotti), all the rugs and all the garments made from the wool of goats are put into this tub; then the sluice is opened

S /55 cont./

286 and the water /56/ falls on the fabrics (fig. 41 and 42). This procedure takes two or three days.

S
286 The mandani is a wooden machine which consists of a large cylinder and big hammers, also made of wood. When the cylinder turns,
G
286
402
[376] the hammers beat regularly each in turn. The operation of the unit is based on hydraulic power. The fabric slowly unrolls on the cylinder and the hammers beat it ceaselessly. A stream of water continually floods the cylinder containing the fabric, so that the latter is simultaneously exposed to the action of the water and the hammers. It is chiefly twill which is given this treatment.

Fig. 41

The construction of this equipment is the work of peasants who also keep it in operation. It is therefore to the peasants that the Sarakatsani turn for the fulling of the fabrics and covers they make.

S
286 /57/ The dyeing of fabrics
386

In order to complete the description of the techniques relevant

/57 cont./

286 386 to wool crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

286 386 [824] The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen] gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been [804] [827] saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

286

Fig. 42

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

281 415 This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

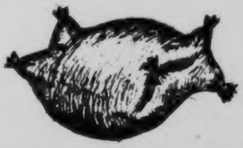

Fig. 43

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the fore part (belly). [251] The goatskin bottles are then ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

342 343 824 All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/58 cont./

342
343 Metal is never used as a building material, not even in the form of nails. The same holds true for stones or bricks. However, clayey earth is sometimes used.

To the problems of the dwelling, its outbuildings and shelters for the animals, the Sarakatsani has a single solution, always /59/ the same: the hut. For all the Sarakatsani building derive from the method of erecting a hut.

The dwelling and outbuildings.

342 The Sarakatsani are acquainted with two main categories of dwelling huts:

The round or circular huts surmounted by an almost conical cupola which, from a distance, makes them resemble wicker hives (fig. 45).

Fig. 44

The rectangular or "sloping" huts, (15) the base of which forms a rectangle (figs. 48-49).

15. According to the terminology of the Sarakatsani. They are called sloping in comparison with the circular huts which are also called "upright."

These categories include numerous variations, of which we shall speak after having described the fundamental types. Figure 44 shows these two types of huts.

/59 cont./

342 The round hut

Seen from the outside, it gives the impression of a solid created by a parabola around a perpendicular axis whose tangent is at the top of the hut (fig. 45).

From the ground to a height of 1.60 meters its diameter is about six meters. From this height upward the diameter starts to diminish progressively but rapidly, ending, at a /60/ height of approximately five meters, in a geometric point which forms the top of the hut. They /the huts/ therefore proceed "imperceptibly from the ground to the summit, they have neither walls nor roof properly speaking, but a conical surface." (16)

16. According to the typology of huts established by A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, p. 261, which corresponds perfectly to this type of Sarakatsani hut.

The entire construction rests on a framework composed of vertical elements and intersecting horizontal elements.

[291]

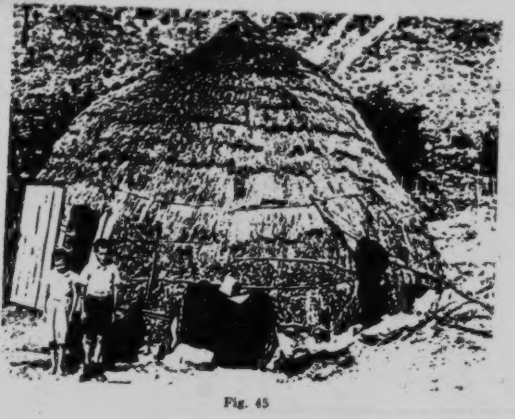

Fig. 45

/60 cont./

The vertical part is built of strong posts approximately 1.30 meters high, which are driven into the ground and thus constitute the foundations of the hut. That is why the posts must be planted at regular intervals (about 60 centimeters) on the circumference of the base, marked off beforehand on the ground.

The fundamental framework completed, one proceeds to the construction of the top, called "crown" which acts as the "keystone" assuring the balance and solidity of the entire building. /61/ It consists of a ring 50 centimeters in diameter, made up preferably of wicker stalks, slender, strong and flexible, that are twisted together.

Next, long, defoliated branches, one end of which is notched, are fastened to the crown which thus rests in the groove formed by the totality of the notches (fig. 46).

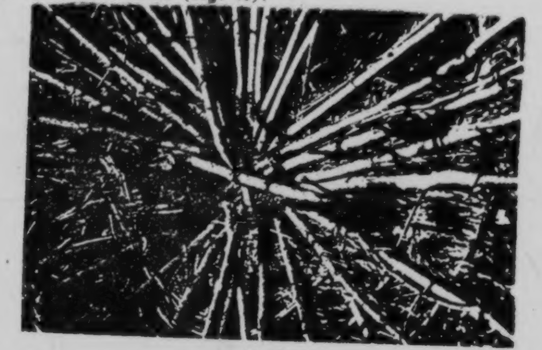

Fig. 46

Care is taken that the length of these branches, when they are attached to the posts previously mentioned, corresponds to the height that one wishes to give the hut.

If the length of these branches is insufficient, several of them are fastened end to end until the desired length is obtained.

/61 cont./

342 When the construction of the branch-crown combination (the frame-335 work of the roof and part of the vertical framework) is finished, it is set in place. The crown is mounted on a long fork of wood and raised so that the fork, set vertically, rests on the ground in the center of the hut where it is firmly secured. After that, the free ends of the /62/ branches are fastened to the upper ends of the posts, the number of the first corresponding to that of the second.

However, the framework is not yet finished, for it requires horizontal elements.

Perpendicularly to the posts and parallel to the ground one arranges long, preferably slender, branches which one attaches with plant cords to the vertical elements around which they turn. Actually, they are large circles which are placed over the vertical structure at intervals of approximately 30 to 40 centimeters (fig. 47) between the base and the summit.

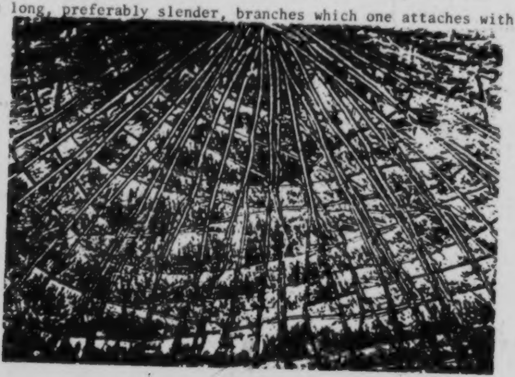

Fig. 47

342 The construction of the hut is completed with the construction of the covering, which may be divided into two phases.

/62 cont./

342
824 The first /phase/ consists of filling in the checker work formed by the intersection of the vertical and horizontal elements of the framework by spreading on them branches, foliage, even bushes in a thin and sparse layer that is kept in place by plant cords.

The second /phase/ consists of covering this first layer with bushes (holly, etc.) or with small branches of fir, /63/ plane tree, etc., previously tied into bunches, thay are placed vertically side by side all around the hut, beginning at the ground, and only to the height of the posts. From there to the top one proceeds in similar fashion but using aquatic plants (reeds, rushes, etc.).

It should be added that these bunches of aquatic plants, meant to insure the impermeability of the hut, are spread out in circular layers arranged in such a way that the lower side of each layer slightly covers the upper side of the one placed directly below it. This arrangement, which forms very distinct areas overlapping from top to bottom, in a succession of real tiers, promotes the running-off of rain water.

342 Finally, the construction described is supported by horizontal lacings--concentric rings wound around the exterior surface of the hut--which hold in place the covering and increase the stability of the construction, especially against the wind.

It sometimes happens, especially in the case of huts used for winter living in cold regions, that a second roof is added. That is [824] to say, a hood the size of the hut, made of bunches of rushes superimposed on one another, entirely prepared beforehand on the ground, is set in place by means of forks.

In order to complete the description, it is necessary to add that in the course of the construction an opening is left to permit entrance into the hut.

A closing, in the form of a dry hedge or of boards, acts as a door; a firm post is used as an upright.

/63 cont./

342 The rectangular hut, called "sloping"

This is a rectangular hut also called "house-hut" by the Sarakatsani because it looks like a village cottage but is entirely built of branches (fig. 48 and 49).

The materials used for this construction are the same as those that go into the construction of the round hut.

[335] This building, obviouly more complicated than the preceding one, for it includes vertical walls and a roof with two sides, rests on forks made of trunks or long branches of fir, plane tree, etc., specially selected and slightly shaped.

/64/ The dimensions of its rectangular base are on an average eight meters long by four meters wide, but they may vary according to the number of inhabitants.

342 335 After having traced on the ground the outlines of the plan, that is to say, a rectangle of the desired dimensions, one sets in the center of each of the two sides representing the width of the rectangle a fork approximately three meters high; then four forks 1.60 meters high are set successively at the four angles of this rectangle.

According to the length of the projected hut, one drives into the ground one, two and sometimes three additional forks of the same height along each of the big sides of the rectangle. Thus we have a total of eight, ten or twelve forks which constitute the foundations of the hut. Then the framework proper is erected (fig. 49).

On the two high center forks is placed a trunk which serves as ridge pole, while from one fork to the other one places a series of trunks, one after the other, in such a way that, by joining their upper ends, one obtains a tie-beam forming a rectangle parallel to that which was traced on the ground. Then, two small trunks or branches are placed obliquely on either side of the center fork which they join to the forks at angles, similar to rafters forming two gables. All these trunks and all these branches are fastened to each other or

/64 cont./
342 335 to the forks by plant cords or ropes.

Finally, the top of the hut, which ultimately takes the shape of a roof with two places slanting from the ridge is built parallel to the main rafters. It is made up of a series of long branches that serve as rafters, their number determined by that of another series of long posts set vertically in the ground. Actually, one plants on each of the long sides, at intervals of 40 to 50 centimeters, a certain number of posts 1.60 meters high ending in a fork. Now, to each of these posts which reach the height of the tie-beam there corresponds a rafter to which it is lashed in the manner we have already described.

It should be said here that the ends of the rafters sharply project beyond the tie-beams to form an overhang protecting the hut from rainwater.

For the construction of the low sides of the rectangle one also uses posts planted sometimes vertically, sometimes at an angle /65/ / Figs. 48 and 49 appear here/ /66/ so that, in the latter case, they delineate an arc at the base, the span of which represents the width of the hut and the height of which (approximately 50 centimeters) inclines outward from the center fork.

342 As a consequence, the two short sides of the hut are either rectilinear of parabolic at their base; it follows that the corresponding walls are flat in the first instance and convex in the second.

Finally, the covering of this framework remains to be described. [824] Horizontal stalks are lashed to the vertical components at intervals

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

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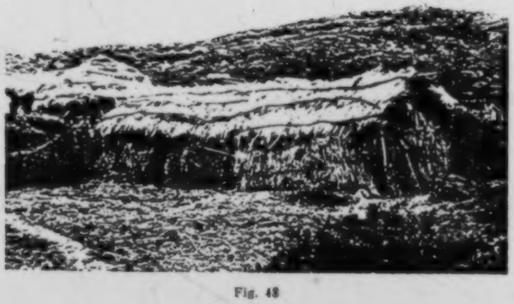

Fig. 48

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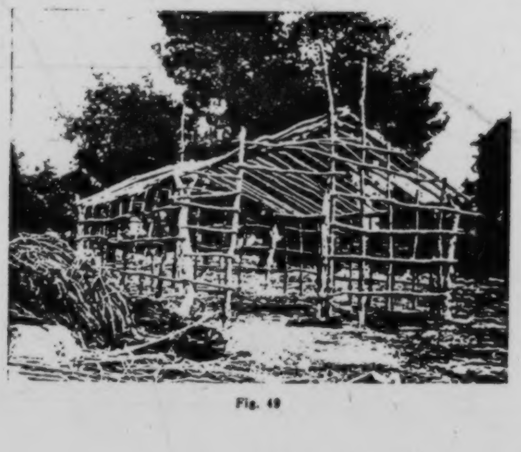

Fig. 49

/66 cont./

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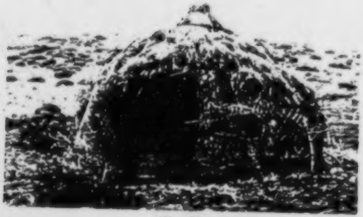

Fig. 50

342 824 of 30 centimeters, while on the roof long stalks are attached parallel to the tie-beams. With bunches of branches and leaves, and proceeding in the manner described for the round hut, that is to say in tiers, one covers the walls and the roof. In addition, bunches of aquatic plants are spread on the latter.

It often happens that the walls themselves are finished off with a layer of these aquatic materials.

342 354 While the construction of the round hut provides a single opening that serves as entrance that of the rectangular hut also provides a window, sometimes even two. Depending on the size of the hut, the opening, 1.30 centimeters high by 80 centimeters wide, is situated /67/ either on the width (in the case of large huts) or on the length (in that of small ones), while the windows are situated either on the side opposite or the side continguous to that of the door.

However, in most cases what we call "windows" are only narrow openings cut into the two small sides of the hut, particularly at the point where the large center forks join the ridge pole. Usually, the

/67 cont./

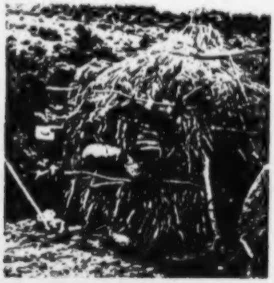

Fig. 51

[354] walls on these sides stop several centimeters below at this point, thus leaving an opening approximately 60 centimeters wide that is never closed (fig. 52).

The door proper is the same type as that of the round hut.

Variations of the two kinds of huts described (fig. 50 and 51):

Variations of the round hut: the diameter of these huts does not exceed 2.50 meters and in general they are from 1.80 to 2.20 meters high.

Their construction is really very simple.

/68/ Long stems, starting from the ground on a circumference marked out in advance, join at the ridge thus forming the vertical part of the frame, the general appearance of which reminds us of a wicker beehive.

Horizontal lacings attached to the vertical components spaced at intervals from the ground to the top, in the manner previously described. An opening permitting entry is always provided; it is closed by a door made either of branches, boards or a cloth.

/68 cont./

342 [824] Of course, the whole /hut/ is covered with branches, leaves or bushes. Sometimes the part of the hut forming the top is covered with aquatic plants, as in the preceding cases.

As far as the use of these huts is concerned, it should be mentioned that the largest ones may be used for living quarters as well as temporary occupancy particularly for shepherds roaming far from the encampment.

343 The smaller ones serve as outbuildings of the principal dwelling, either as storerooms, sheds, or small storehouses for blankets and provisions (grain, flour, oil), or as a shelter for the loom (fig. 50, 51).

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[354]

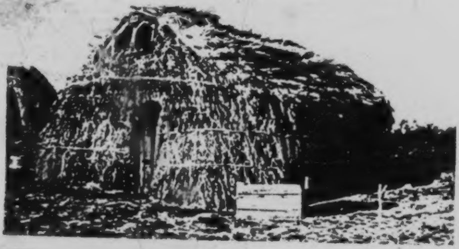

Fig. 52

/69/ /figs. 53 and 54 appear here/

/70/ Variations of the rectangular hut: the variant of the rectangular hut is relatively of a simpler construction than that of the large rectangular hut itself. But here it is necessary to make a distinction.

These variants built either with forks or without forks.

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[335]

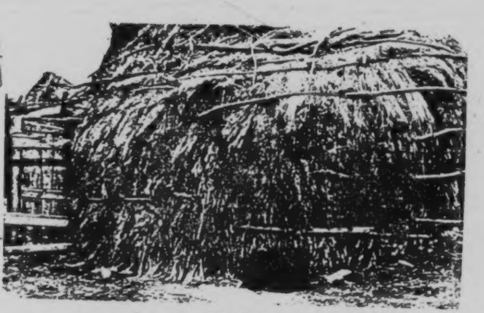

Fig. 53

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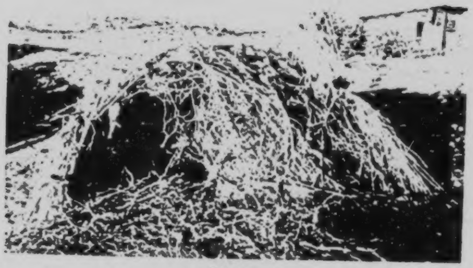

Fig. 54

/70 cont./

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For the first /variation/ the basic materials consist of:

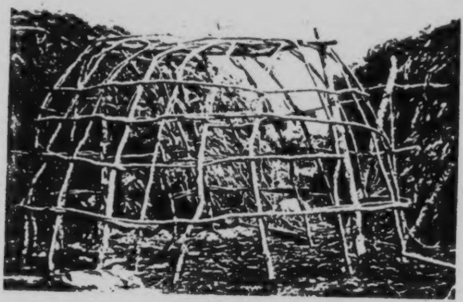

Fig. 55

a) Only two forks set in the middle of the short sides of the rectangle drawn on the ground, that is to say, opposite each other.

b) A trunk resting horizontally on these forks.

These forks are approximately two meters high, whereas the horizontal trunk is from two to three meters long.

Long branches are then driven into the ground on the two large sides of the rectangle at intervals of 30 to 40 centimeters; their height exceeds that of the forks. Their upper ends are tied to the horizontal trunk that constitutes the ridge pole; they thus form true crossed arches (fig. 53 and 55).

/71/ The side walls of these huts are always convex in shape.

342 Of course, the method used in the construction of the frame as well as the covering, scarcely differs from that of the buildings already described.

343 The second /variation/, that is to say the sloping huts built

/71 cont./

343 without forks, are even more simple. In general, their shape is no longer rectangular. Their base is more of an ellipse, the large axis of which is of variable length, according to circumstances. On the outline of this ellipse, always drawn on the ground in advance, the Sarakatsani plant long branches spaced 30 to 40 centimeters apart; the free end of each of these branches is lashed to that of the branch opposite it, so as to form a high arch from 1.50 to 1.80 meters. Basically, what is involved is a vaulted framework (fig. 54, 56).

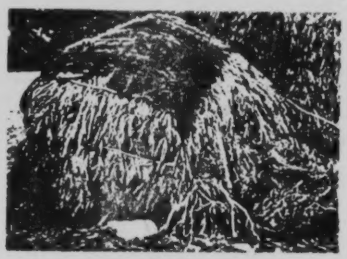

Fig. 56

An opening in these huts, which must serve as entrance door, is always provided for at one of the two ends of the big axis.

From the technical point of view there is no difference to be noted in the process of construction.

342
343 With respect to the use to which these two variations of the hut are put, it is necessary to say, in anticipation of our analyses concerning utilization, that those which are based on forks are always intended for living quarters.

The others serve:

--as sheds or storerooms,

--to shelter looms,

/72/--as stable for the chief's horse,

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated, " Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 114 178 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a [341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components [177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process [341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 417 The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling

In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/72 cont./

343
417 as outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling, there are still others, such as:

a) The frétzato.

b) The oven.

c) The chicken coop.

/73/ / Figs. 57 and 58 appear here/ A

417 /74/ a) The frétzato looks like an enclosure; it is built with slanting posts intertwined with long horizontal stalks. Its walls are overlaid with branches and dry shrubs, likewise intertwined.

There are two types of this construction among the Sarakatsani:

[343]
[354]

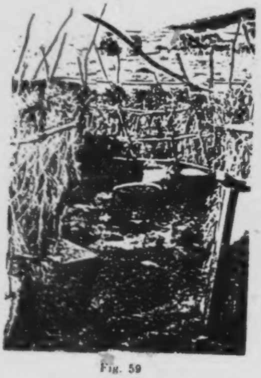

Fig. 59

The first which may be characterized as a frétzato leaning against the hut forms part of the hut (whether round or slanting), for it flanks the front. It consists of a sort of dry hedge in the shape of an ellipse broken on two sides in the middle section.

A [See p. 85 --Analyst]

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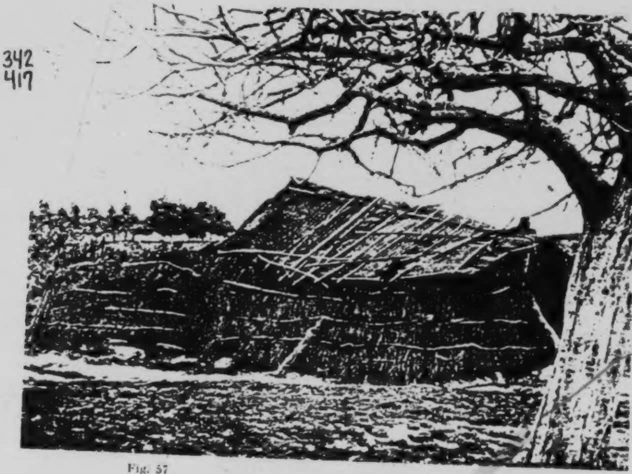

Fig. 57

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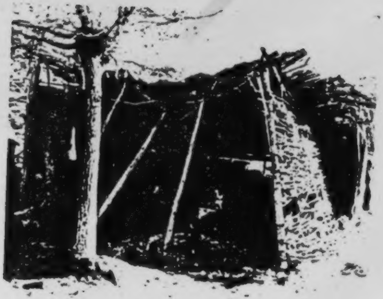

Fig. 58

/74 cont./

342 417 At one of these openings it leans against the front of the hut, specifically on either side of the door; the other /opening/, left free, serves as entrance (fig. 57).

417 In short, it is an elliptical, fenced-in courtyard, the opening of which, situated opposite the entrance of the hut, it closed by a gate made either of boards of interlaced branches.

/75/ The dimensions of this construction are 2.50 to 5.50 meters for the large axis and two to four meters for the small one.

The "frétzato" may enclose one, two, and sometimes three round [343] or rectangular huts placed side by side (in this case, of course, its dimensions are considerably larger); then it serves sometimes as an outdoor kitchen, sometimes as a receiving area. For the latter purpose it includes the tsardhaki (see below).

343 417 The second type of this construction is the "independent frétzato," that is to say, one that does not lean against the hut. This type occurs on the one hand in a circular form called photoghoni, and, on the other, a rectangular form given the name tsardhaki or "shade" (fig. 58 and 59).

In the first form it is a kind of dry hedge, almost round in shape, approximately three to four meters in diameter, that is provided with a single opening without a gate and serves as outdoor kitchen as well as a place for storing utensils; in the second form it is a shelter against sun and heat, placed near the hut. It must therefore necessarily face the north in order to have the benefit on the cool winds (etesian winds).

This latter construction, is more interesting than the preceding one; its dimensions are approximately two meters by five meters, and the sloping roof reaches a height of 2.50 to three meters.

In order to give an idea of the "tsardhaki," let us say that it is a rectangular half-hut on several forks, for its roof has but a single side. Actually, forks 2.50 meters high are set at the two

/75 cont./
343 northern corners of the base of the rectangle and a fork three meters
417 high is set at each of the two others. From one fork to the other a series of trunks are placed in a row, making up the framework of the roofing which slopes in relation to the horizon. On this framework are placed a certain number of long branches which serve as rafters. The two short sides and the long southern side of the building are formed in the same way as the sides of a rectangular hut. The same holds true for the top which is covered like the roof of the hut. The front, turned towards the north, remains entirely open.

In certain cases the tsardhaki or "shade" becomes incorporated in the enclosure of the frétzato joined to the hut, and /76/ occupies one of its sides; but its use, as we shall see later on, does not differ from that of the independent "tsardhaki."

343 b) The oven: The technique of hut construction is likewise the
252 basis of the construction of the ovens (fig. 60).

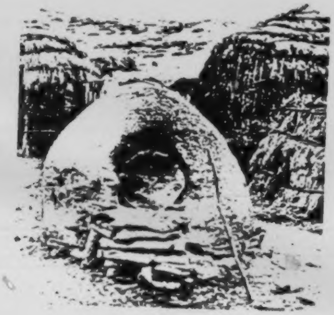

Fig. 60

/76 cont./

343 The oven, always in the open air, rests on a framework of long,
252 defoliated branches. These branches are set in the earth in a circle approximately one meter in diameter at 20 to 30 centimeter intervals, and their free ends are fastened together so as to form a cone.

On the periphery of the cone and at a specific point the branches are spaced to provide for the opening of the oven.

343 The inside of the cone is filled with small stones arranged
333 horizontally up to a height of 50 centimeters; then the surface is
252 covered over with flagstones properly aligned and cemented with clay.

Then, the entire exterior of the cone is covered with a very thick layer of boughs which is covered with a coating of potter's clay. The opening of the oven remains uncovered, but during the building /77/ of the walls it is covered with a plank or a large stone which is removed when the outside of the oven is completed.

Only the interior now needs to be finished. As in the case of the exterior surface, the interior of the oven is coated with a layer of potter's clay.

The ventilation of the oven is provided by a hole near the top in the part across from the opening; it is called "the ear."

To complete the construction the oven is heated for several hours; the next day the procedure is repeated. Thus, the clay of the walls dries and becomes as hard as brick. The oven is then ready to be used.

However, this technique of oven building is not the only one found among the Sarakatsani. Here is another:

One starts by building the lower part in the shape of a cylinder 50 centimeters high by one meter in diameter, entirely by means of stone slabs and clay.

The upper surface of the cylinder, well leveled off, is paved with small, fixed flagstones. On these flagstones stones are piled up without being attached and arranged in such a way that the heap takes on a cylindro-conical shape. It is then overlaid with a thick layer of

/77 cont./

343 333 252 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 235 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

[178] [361] 18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

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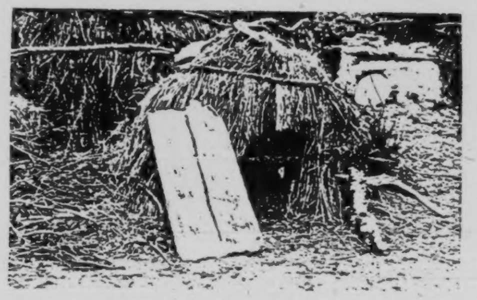

Fig. 61

342 Interior arrangement of the dwelling and its outbuildings.

In general, the interior of the large huts intended for dwellings (both round and rectangular) is arranged in the following manner:

On the earth of the hut, carefully leveled out beforehand, one applies a bed of mud mixed with straw or dung, which will form a solid crust. This work is done entirely by hand. All around the hut and along the walls one builds, with a mixture of earth and pebbles, a low wall 30 centimeters high and about 40 to 60 centimeters thick, which one then coats with the mixture of mud and straw of which we have already spoken (fig. 62).

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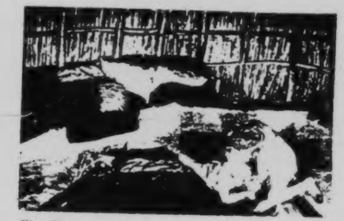

Fig. 62

342 This low wall serves to ward off any danger of flooding by rainwater. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the Sarakatsani never forget to scoop out a drainage ditch all around the hut.

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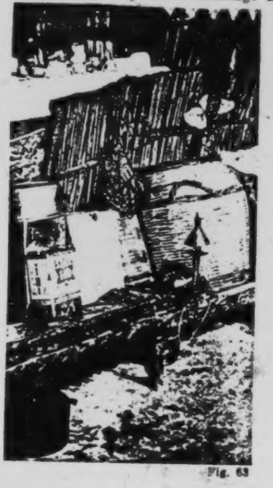

Fig. 63

/79 cont./

352 Often, a row of benches almost the same height and some 50 centimeters wide, called "the beds," is added to the low wall. These benches which run the length of the low wall and complete it, are made of small forks set vertically in the ground; interlaced twigs and branches laid on these form the servicable horizontal surface (fig.63).

354 In the round hut the hearth is placed in a definite spot which often, but not necessarily, coincides with the center of the hut.

On the other hand, in the rectangular hut the hearth is situated on that side of the two forks sustaining the rafters which is nearest the entrance.

/80/ In all these cases the hearth is more or less perfectly round in shape. The foundation consists of a series of rough stand flags set side by side and held in place with mud. The part of the hearth turned toward the entrance always has a border of a low wall of an equal mixture of earth and pebbles, from 35 to 40 centimeters

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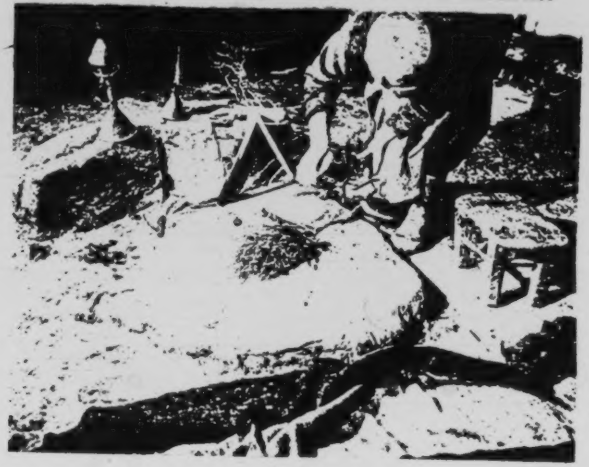

Fig. 64

/80 cont./

354 high and approximately 20 centimeters thick, meant to protect the hearth against drafts and to facilitate the process of cooking of which we shall speak farther on (fig. 64).

Any kind of chimney is unknown.

342 Moreover, there are no divisions inside a Sarakatsani dwelling.

352 At the left of the entrance and 1.50 meters from the ground one sees two /81/ shelves of wood, one above the other. With very rare [342] exceptions these shelves are typically placed to the left of the entrance since, in most cases, the door opens inward; thus it is only in the opposite case that they are placed on the right. (fig. 65)

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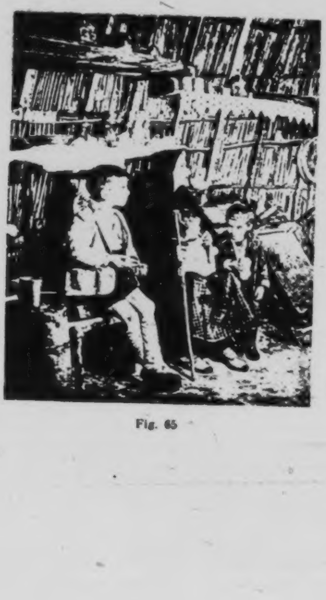

Fig. 65

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato. [354] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar [352] to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59). A

343 [252] Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 233 417 Buildings intended for animals.

In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

A [See p. 84--Analyst]

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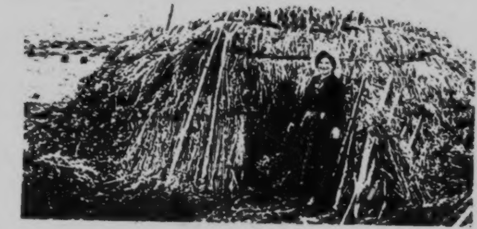

Fig. 66

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/83/ The shelters

Sheepfolds: These folds are actually round or oval enclosures approximately 15 meters in diameter. The method of their construction is identical with that /fig. 67 appears here/ used in the construction of hut walls in general: forks and posts are driven into the ground, leaning slightly toward the center of the circle or ellipse and interlaced at regular intervals with long stems placed horizontally; the whole is covered with intertwined branches and foliage (fig 66 and 68).

The height of the enclosure is 1.80 meters. The opening that serves as entrance is closed with a door of intertwined boughs. /84/ (fig. 67). Inside, a second row of short forks are set 70 centimeters long, approximately 1.20 meters from the side thus forming a sort of circular palisade parallel to the walls. /Fig. 68 appears here/ The upper part of these forks is joined together by long stalks arranged one after the other. After that, the top of the outside enclosure and (824) that of the inside palisade are bound together with big stalks, producing a very slanting framework which is customarily covered with boughs, leaves, bunches of shrubs or aquatic plants./Fig. 69 appears here/

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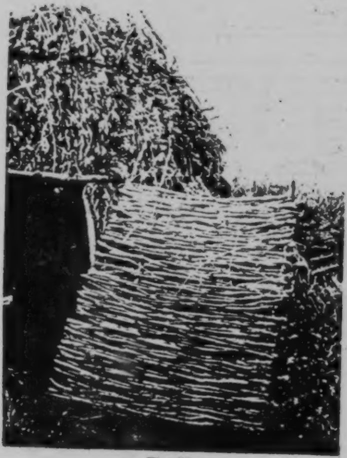

Fig. 67

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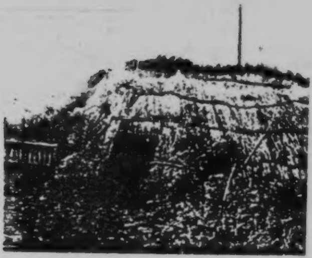

Fig. 68

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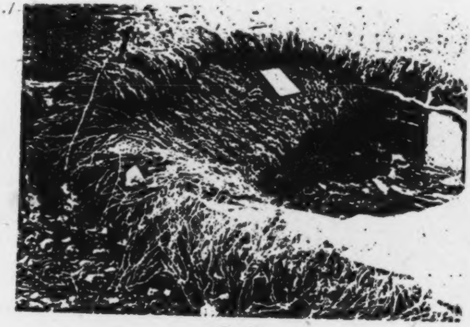

Fig. 69

/85/ Thus, the finished structure has the shape of a long circular corridor with a roof slanting steeply toward the interior of the enclosure. It is this corridor which constitutes the sheepfold proper. The center of the enclosure remains uncovered (fig. 69 and 70).

Finally, the floor of this fold is strewn with a litter made up of small branches that are often renewed in order to maintain relative cleanliness. /Fig. 70 appears here/

/86/ Goat pens: the pens for goats are very similar to the preceding /structure/ with respect to shape, dimensions and building methods. The only differences reside, on the one hand, in the height which very [824] much exceeds that of the sheepfolds, the outside hedge rising to three meters from the ground, and, on the other hand, in the building materials used for covering; the fence is actually covered with thorny bushes (holly, etc.) in order to keep the goats from jumping over it.

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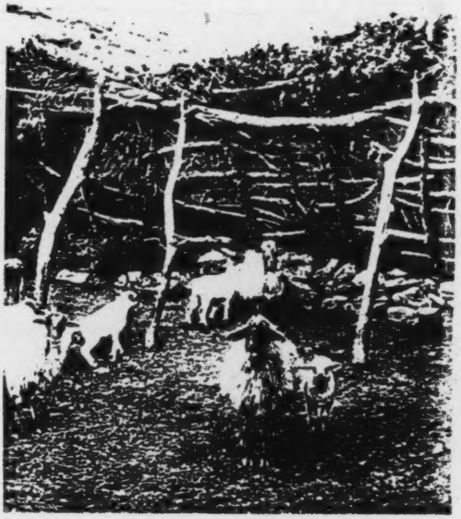

Fig. 70

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/86 cont./ Furthermore, close to the entrances of this pen a tiny round hut is built. Called tsarkos (fig. 71), /Fig. 71 appears here/ it is the simplest of all those we have described, and here the young goats are shut in during the day in order to regulate their suckling.

The tsardhaki: finally, in order to complete the enumeration of the

/86 cont./

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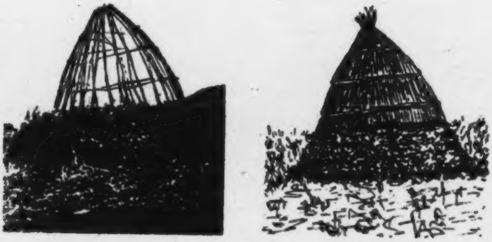

Fig. 71

shelters for the animals, let us mention the tsardhaki where the animals rest during the hot hours of summer days; this, of course, has a different shape from that set apart as a resting place for humans (fig. 72).

It is a kind of "kiosk" open on all sides and built from a certain number of forks of varying height, arranged in a circle, on which are laid horizontially /87/ long defoliated stems surmounted by foliage and boughs forming a roof. It is in this "kiosk" that the flocks seek refuge from the sun.

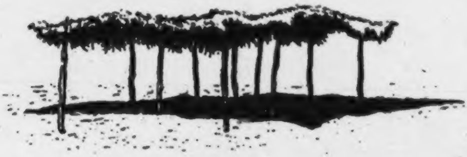

Fig. 72

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).A

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

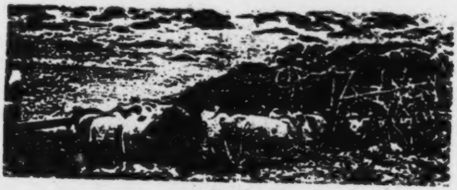

Fig. 73

233 /38/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have
231 large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their
235 number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

[492] 19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them, The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

A,[Fig.75 appears on p 108--Analyst]

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 233 128 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 232 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders:

1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development.
2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[462] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

/89 cont./

233 462 lambs, it is not the same for the kids. Only the women assist the goats which actually, give birth first (the births follow one another from mid-November to mid-December), and install them with their young in special pens to protect them from the cold.

The ewes lamb after that. While the men alone assist at parturition, the women have the task of driving ewes and lambs to the folds and the pastures intended for them.

233 232 Nursing

The nursing of kids lasts three months. They are separated from their mothers and penned day and night in the "tsarkos," in order to avoid their nursing continually thus exhausting the goats. They suck only at daybreak and at twilight.

For the same reasons, the lambs spend the night in a pen which is specially assigned to them, but they follow their mothers to the pastures in the daytime and thus are entirely free to nurse.

The nursing of the lambs lasts only a month and a half.

Feeding The livestock

In order to solve this problem the following arrangements have been adopted:

1. A suitable classification of pastures.
2. On occasion, a supplement in the form of grains bought commercially.
3. The setting up of a suitable grazing schedule.

Pasturing: pastures are classified in relation to:

--the quality of the grass,
--species of animals,
--the phases in the life of the latter.

In practice these three criteria overlap. Observation shows that the following distinctions have been made for the sheep:

--Pastures for the gravid ewes.
--Pastures for the ewes that have just lambed.

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes.
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes.
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

231 Finally, for the beasts of burden, sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

231 Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
241 are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
(439) rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock.
However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, thus from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The ewes that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

/90 cont./

233 out a second time early in the morning after the milking of the milch ewes, and they graze until ten o'clock. The final pasturing of the day takes place from three o'clock until twilight.

During the summer the flocks remain out-of-doors all night and rest during the day in the "tsardhaki" or in shady places/91/ sheltered from the sun and heat. Thus they graze only during the night.

233
232 "Taking salt": this is the term the Sarakatsani use to describe the practice which consists of feeding the livestock salt in order to replace that which the animals excrete in the summer. The salt is spread on flat stones and the flocks are led to them. The animals lick the salt and then hasten to the nearest stream in order to drink. The Sarakatsani maintain that this practice both increases the well-being of the animals and their milk production. Actually, the explanation is found in the fact that "the spray of very chlorinated sea water that the rains drop on the plants of the plains does not reach the uplands--The health of the stock and its resistance to diseases are therefore at stake..." (20)

(113) 20. P. Veyvret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 28-29.

Special care and veterinary medicine

From the hygienic point of view the care bestowed on the flocks is limited to:

- --the search for good fodder;
- --the indispensable precautions against bad weather: for example, the ground of the sheepfolds is covered with branches during the winter, so that the livestock do not lie on the wet and sometimes icy ground;
- --finally, the ensuring of the well-being of the animals through certain magical practices. (21)

21. See below, pp. 298-324.

232 As for summoning scientific veterinary services there is no

/91 cont./

232 question of that, at least within the framework of traditional life. [754] Apart from precautions against the "evil eye" and witchcraft, these nomads do not hesitate themselves to undertake altogether empirical treatment and sometimes true surgery.

The most common sicknesses, according to the Sarakatsani nomenclature are:

Parmard. The sheep suffer from pains in their feet and can no longer walk; in addition, the ewes that are stricken with it cease producing milk. The treatment consists in preparing /92/ an infusion of elaterion (wild cucumber, family of American cucurbitaceae) which is administered to the sick animals.

Dragomara. The joints of the feet swell and suppurate. The treatment is the same as the preceding.

Fouskomma (tympanites). Here they resort to blood-letting by cutting a vein near the left eye. They also cut an ear or the tail of the sick animal.

Surgical operations consist of:

- --setting dislocated or fractured limbs which are treated with ligatures;
- --trephining /perforating/ the skull of the sheep. This procedure is applied when a small cyst forms in the head of the sheep, which makes them very excited (the Sarakatsani say that they become "insane"), using a technique the substance of which is as follows:

The shepherd most experienced in this type of intervention immobilizes the sick animal by tying its feet. Then he feels its head in order to determine the spot where he must enter. He thereupon shaves the wool and removes it by using an iron heated in the fire. After which, with a very sharp knife he cuts the top of the skull at an angle and detaches the bone he has cut. He thereby obtains an opening

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax
and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the
animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered
a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple
with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around
their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives
the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex
mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest
nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing
these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:

484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part,
"take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings,
beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by
tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/93 cont./

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484
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Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving, Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

221 In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in
233 the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real
234 cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as
484 is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation
361
[439] of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new
settlement.

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:
233 --Unloading of the animals.
361 --Pitching of the tents.
484 --Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.
[417) --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

Working with the livestock

233 Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is derived [434] from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not 234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave [415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the 234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June, 221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 234 221 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 439 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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Fig. 75

262 [439] or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb. This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 [262] [432] Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests. The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/95 cont./

233 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

[432] With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also
353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles
and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed
upon it (fig. 62).[A] Piled one on top of another all around the hut and
[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or
color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus
become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

[A] [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 182 592 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

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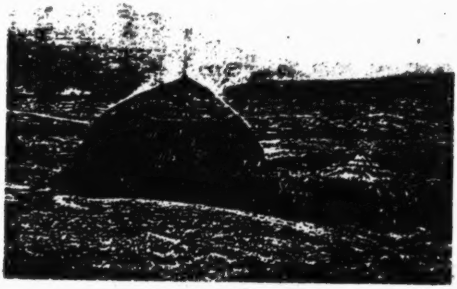

Fig. 76

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[352]

352 353 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).A

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

A. [Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "frétzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 [574] The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

[574] Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:

[171] The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

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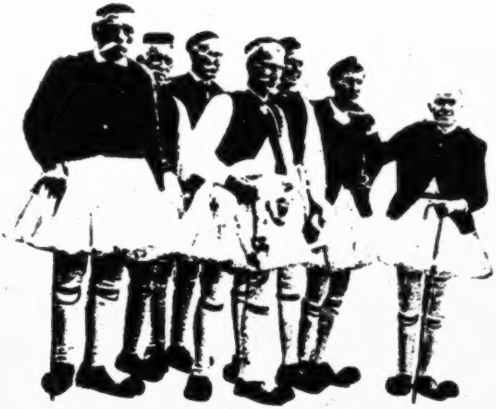

Fig. 77

/99 cont./

291 Sarakatsani clothing.

We shall begin our analysis with a description of Sarakatsani clothing.

(191) Men's apparel: Until a relatively recent period the apparel of the Sarakatsani male was the Greek "foustanella". Figure 77 shows this apparel which, from bottom to top, consists of the following articles:

The "tsarouchia": These pointed shoes made of calfskin, are a kind of very firm mocassin with heavy nailed soles; the vamp, curved front, has a large pompon at the tip. This type of footgear was common to both sexes.

2nd. The Sarakatsani was not familiar with socks and slipped his bare foot into the mocassin. On the other hand, from the ankle to the thighs he wore stockings of white wool which were fastened to the drawers. Black garters worn below the knees completed the /100/ [292] leg adornment. The stockings worn on festival days were knit and their garters ornamented with pompons, while the everyday stockings were cut out of white fleece passed through the "mandani" and were held up with very simple garters.

3rd. Short, cotton drawers were hidden under the "foustanella."

4th. The term "Foustanella" refers to a pleated skirt--a sort of kilt--of white cotton fabric. It was made of a number of isoseles trapezoids with narrow bases, brought together in seams. This permitted considerable fullness of the garment in a multitude of pleats which, moreover, remained unalterable. The "foustanella" was fastened at the hips with hooks.

5th. The chest was protected with an undershirt of the same fabric as the stockings, a fabric that always woven on the loom.

6th. In addition a white shirt of cotton was worn with very wide pleated sleeves.

7th. Two belts made up the indispensable accessories to the male outfit. The first served quite simply to fit the foustanella

/Men's Apparel/

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 531 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course, was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "ferméli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who wore it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 178 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79).[A] Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

[071] For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

[A] [Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/101 cont./ /Men's Apparel/

291 178 (171) apparel that is worn by almost all the highland shepherds of continental Greece. It is true that, the present clothing is less picturesque; it is, on the other hand, much more practical (fig. 78).[A]

This apparel includes:

1st The "tsarouchia" (mocassins).
2nd Ordinary wool socks, knit by the women.
3rd Trousers of very heavy white wool, which are called "bourazana" or "panovraki floro."

It should be mentioned that in the recent past these trousers which have no opening in front and are fastened at the waist by means of a string were the apparel of old men and of the chief, that is to say, of those who did not work in the sheepfolds. The work trousers were of the same kind but were dark blue. We should specify that in our day, saved for rare exceptions, the use of the dark blue trousers has become generally established (fig. 80).[A]

4th The drawers.
5th The undershirt.
6th An ordinary shirt.
7th An ordinary vest.
8th A jacket.

291 The Sarakatsani also use two kinds of overcoats: the first is a coat with sleeves called "maliotto" equipped with pockets as well as a wide and long collar. The second is merely a /102/ /Men's apparel, Figs. 78-83 appear here/ /103/ long cape without sleeves, finished off with a hood and made from goat hair, therefore water repellent. This is the "kapa." And it is very often in this cape the the shepherds wrap themselves for sleeping out-of-doors. For these clothes see figures 81, 82, 83.[A]

Finally, their outfit is completed with a cap called "skoufia" (fig. 79).

Women's apparel

The women's apparel consists of the following articles:

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118]

[A] [Figs. 78-83 will be found on p.117--Analyst]

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Men's Apparel

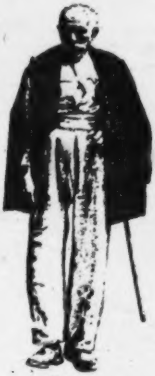

Fig. 78

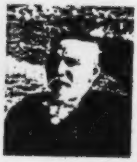

Fig. 79

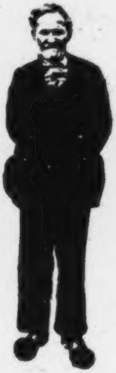

Fig. 80

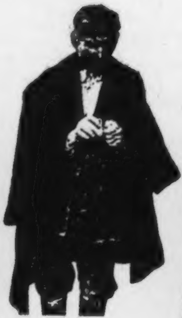

Fig. 81

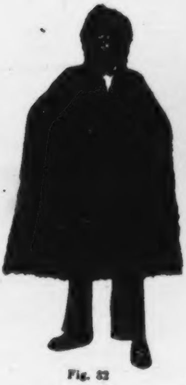

Fig. 82

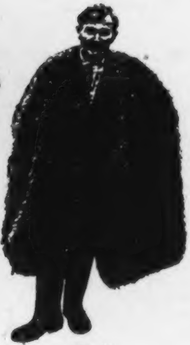

Fig. 83

/Women's Apparel/

/103 cont./

29 [531] 1st The previously mentioned "tsarouchia", likewise ornamented with pompons though considerably smaller ones than those of the men.

[531] 2nd "Stockings" (fig. 87) that cover the legs only to the knee. These stockings are knitted in geometric motifs, but only in black on white.

3rd By way of underclothing the women wear in winter a pair of pants stopping at the knees and woven of goat hair, to protect them from the cold, especially when they are obliged to cross streams on foot.

4th A wool undershirt protects the bust. On top of this undershirt they wear a very short shirt (it reaches to the hips) made of a cotton fabric. It has relatively short sleeves, that are very full and pleated. The scantiness of this shirt constitutes a health measure. If it were longer, the lower part would be in danger of becoming wet during the crossing of streams; now, drying next to the skin could cause serious health problems.

[531] 5th The dress proper includes: a very wide skirt falling to the feet, pleated and decorated with white embroidery in geometric designs. This skirt is fastened at the waist by a leather belt (fig. 88).

[531] 6th A bib, likewise embroidered with geometric motifs, as a rule black on white, protects the chest and reaches down to the waist (fig. 86).

7th From the wrist to the elbows the forearms are covered with "stockings" identical with the stockings that protect the legs.

8th The vest, three varieties of which we have described, is also a part of the women's apparel, but only in two forms. On the one hand, there is a simple black vest, which does not button in front /104/ /Women's Apparel Figs. 84-88 appear here/ /105/ thus leaving the bib showing and, on the other hand, a longer vest the back of which is ornamented with two false sleeves embroidered and open, starting at the shoulders. It is rather a kind of short coat, as its name also suggests: "kontokapa" (fig. 85).

9th An ornamental collar, pleated and likewise embroidered, completes the dress. /Fig. 89 appears here/

3: Kabbadias--119 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Women's Apparel

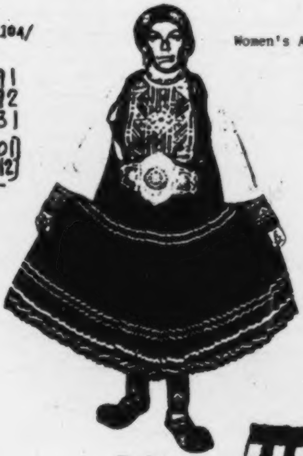

Fig. 84

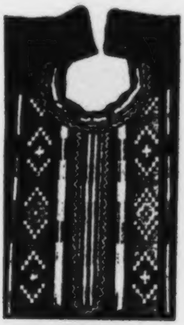

Fig. 86

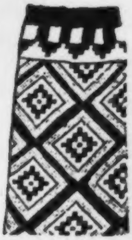

Fig. 87

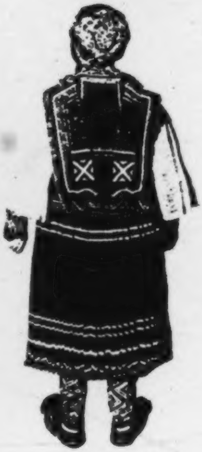

Fig. 85

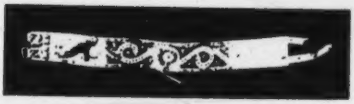

Fig. 88

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

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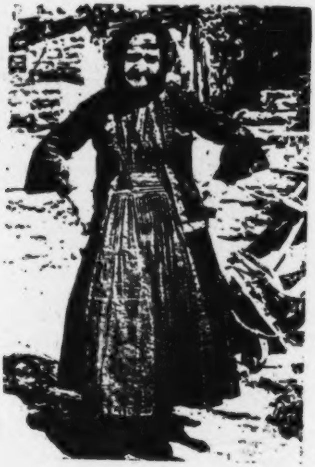

Fig. 89

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning and old women wear black veils. /106/

[531]
[765]
[888]

301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/106 cont./

301 colored precious stones (fig. 84).

[292] This outfit is worn for festivals and weddings.

291 Of course, the everyday dress, the dress for work, is much simpler, although the principal features are scarcely different from those we have described. [531] The difference is limited chiefly to the [301] relative absence of emboidery, jewelry or the silver buckle (see fig. 89).

Moreover, the work outfit includes a scarf, a shawl made of a rectangular "flokotti," some 1.50 meters long,

[142]

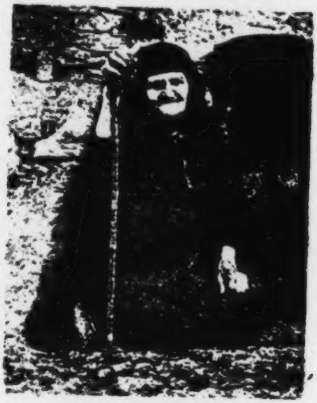

Fig. 90

/107/ preferably black which is worn over the shoulders and serves as a cloak enveloping the body (fig. 90, vélentzoula).

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291 294 In addition to these descriptions, and in order to consider Sarakatsani apparel from a technological point of view, it is necessary to emphasize that in general the men's as well as the women's clothing is cut and stitched. However, sometimes the sleeves

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men
to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and
more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[191] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt.
The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into
which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the
waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam.
The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level,
where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt
is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are
extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several
places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to
speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water
and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it
with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one re-
moves it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely
although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti,"
the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers
or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example,
the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are
bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with
the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)[A] are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the
Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to
the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

[A] /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which,.if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotti" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

[128] However, preliminary to the description of the different
[234] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of preparing of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
221 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

Fig. 91

/110 cont./
234 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet
252 is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called
252 "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles"
415 or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

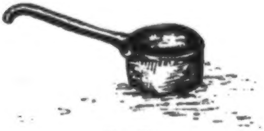

Fig. 93

234 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table;
252 it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub
[251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding.
[231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

252 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani
262 cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

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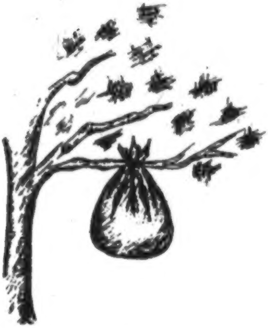

Fig. 94

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/112 cont./ consistency. Sometimes oil or butter and cheese are added.

--"Kourkoutti" is a variation of "katsamaki": it is the same mixture but to which is added a small quantity of onions that are browned separately in a frying pan.

--"Tripsana": pieces of dry maize bread are boiled in salted water or in a vegetable broth. Seasoning and oil or butter are added.

--Almost the same thing is done with pieces of wheat bread which are also boiled, but in butter and cheese is added as well. This dish is called "papàra."

--"Kousmari" is another dish in the Sarakatsani diet. Some cheese just prepared and not yet salted is placed in a receptacle and exposed to the sun until it is slightly fermented. The receptacle is then put on the fire and a little flour is added. The mixture is stirred until it thickens.

--Finally, "nerstà" or "birbilonia" are a kind of dough made with wheat flour. One spreads the flour on a table, sprinkles it lightly

/112 cont./

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262
with water and gathers up the small balls which form spontaniously. Water is brought to a boil. A small quantity of oil or butter and then seasoning are added. Sometimes these pellets, are fried in oil together with onions.

"Tripsana," "papara," and "kousmari" are dishes prepared chiefly by shepherds during their stay in the sheepfolds far from the dwellings. Here we have an exception to the rule (23) which demands that culinary work be reserved for the women.

Now we come to the preparation of pastries, the most characteristic of which are the following:

The pastry with grasses: between layers of dough well rubbed with oil or butter and placed in a flat receptacle one spreads a layer made up of a mixture of edible wild aromatic herbs finely chopped, onions, cheese, butter or oil seasoned with salt and pepper and slightly cooked beforehand in a saucepan.

/113/ Another mixture may also be substituted, likewise cooked beforehand and containing cheese, milk, butter and flour. In this case the pastry which is called "galatopitta," is considered a treat.
/Fig. 95 appears here/

For the "striftopitta" or "psaropitta" the method of preparation is completely different. One starts by kneading a dough with a flour base whereupon one divides it into several parts. Each part is carefully worked with the "plastis" on the "plastiri" (fig. 95) until one obtains a circle approximately 60 centimeters in diameter, as thin as a sheet of paper, which is called /114/ "fylla" (leaf). Let us say parenthetically that these "fylla," placed one on top of the other in a receptacle may take the place of the various layers of dough in the preparation of the pastries already described. Then one prepares a mixture of white cheese and "trachanas." (24)

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23. See below, pp. 177-179.

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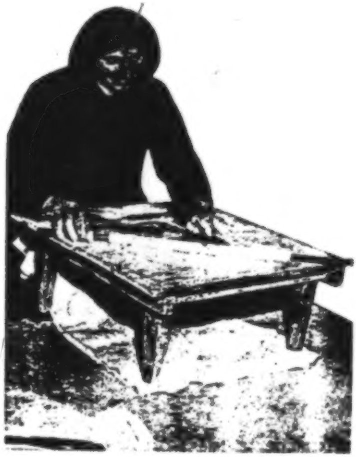

Fig. 86

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[171]
/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

/114 cont./

252 262 In order to conclude the inventory, it is necessary also to speak of the grasses and vegetables that the Sarakatsani use. The first are made up chiefly of dandelions and other edible wild plants gathered in the countryside, either to be cooked in water for a salad or to be used in making pastries (caucalide, (25) aromatic chervil parella [a type of lichen], wild leek, etc.)

25. Condulocarpus apulus.

Among the second belong the beans, broad beans, lentils and, recently, potatoes and rice; however, their preparation does not present any peculiarity that need be reported here.

262 Meat, finally, does not make up any of the dishes that we have described. This is because meat constitutes altogether unusual food. (26)

26. Thurnwald: Economie Primitive, p. 121, says that pastoral peoples only exceptionally kill animals for their meat. Livestock is capital on the income of which the people live.

In fact, the herders do not readily "sacrifice" their livestock for their food. However, it is customary that for Christmas, Easter, [527] St. George, St. Demetrius, each one's personal feast day and each time [574] hospitality is called for (whoever the visitor may be), they kill a lamb and roast it on the spit. In all these instances the killing of the lamb takes on a ritual significance which justifies the "sacrifice."

It should be noted that this description of the Sarakatsani cuisine is a faithful account of the diet common among them.

/115/ --The cooking of foods

372 [252] The Sarakatsani practice several methods of cooking, which presuppose a method of lighting fire. This method consists of an oblique striking impact: a flint is struck with an iron hammer; the sparks which are produced ignite a piece of tinder (fig. 96). Then the fire is transferred to /Fig. 96 appears here/ dry grass of brush lying on the hearth (fig. 64).^ In order to stir up the fire they have recourse to a

^/Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/115 cont./

372

Fig. [illegible]

natural draft (brush and dry sticks are arranged in the shape of a cone so that an air current circulates from bottom to top) and to an artifical draft (human breath).

It is necessary to mention in this connection that in the Sarakatsani dwellings the fire is never allowed to go out (whether it be in the huts during the winter months or in the fretzato used for outdoor cooking in the summer).

252 With regard to cooking, various methods can be distinguished:

415 Cooking in pots: a triangular metal tripod which holds on all kinds of pots is set on the hearth flagstones over the fire. In the relatively less well organized installations (sheepfolds) and in the course of the migrations the tripod is replaced by suitably arranged stones.

Cooking in the "ghastra" (large metal lid /116/ one meter in diameter, a sort of spherical cap, flat and equipped with a handle at the top).

The "ghastra" is placed on the tripod above a well-burning fire in such a way that one side of it rests on the low wall of the hearth and the other on the tripod. Thus the hearth as well as the "ghastra" rapidly reach a very high temperature. When this temperature is judged sufficient, the "ghastra" is removed; then, according to what one wishes to cook, the foods are either put directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth or are kept in a receptacle which itself is placed upon the

/116 cont./

252 flagstones, the coals or on the tripod. They are then carefully covered
415 with the "ghastra." Let us note that the hot "ghastra" is manipulated
[412] by inserting the "xethali" (wooden poker, fig. 15)[A] in its handle.
Finally, the "ghastra" is covered with coals. Figures 97, 98, 99 show stages of cooking under the "ghastra."

It is under the "ghastra" that the Sarakatsani cook the various kinds of bread and pastries that we have described.

252 Cooking in the oven: the oven is used collectively (moreover, the use of the oven is relatively recent among the Sarakatsani), that is to say that the oven is built only in the midst of large aggregates of huts. The oven is chiefly meant for baking bread. In order to bake the bread, one must first heat the oven. Shrubs and logs are ignited and allowed to burn up completely. Then the ashes are heaped up with a shovel and the flagstones cleaned with a rag attached to the end of a pole. After that the bread needs only to be put in the oven and left there the necessary time.

The loaves to be baked are set directly on the flagstones of the oven.

Cooking on a spit: this is the most common method of roasting meat.
252 More specifically, the Sarakatsani, in preparing meat, cook only
262 whole lambs. In their traditional life, the preparation of pieces of meat previously cut up is not customary. Moreover, the only meat they eat is that of lambs and, more rarely, of goats. Of course, pigs and some poultry raised by the women are used for family consumption. However, their role /in the diet/ is so minimal that it in no case be considered substantial, or a basic food. /117/ /Figs. 97, 98, 99 appear here/

252 /118/ Cooking on the spit involves several stages. First, a one-by-two meter pit is dug some 50 centimeters deep in which coals are prepared; then the lamb is pierced from end to end with a spit which is placed on two forks set at the two extremities of the pit. Sometimes the height

[A] /Fig. 15 appears on p.44--Analyst/

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 134)

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415
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Fig. 97

Fig. 98

Fig. 99

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

292 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

292 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition,
[824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

292 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

354 Light and heat.

Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

[A] /Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
[B] /Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

105 182 Nevertheless, some positive and general findings should be formulated:

177 To begin with, all the technology described which deals with crafts, clothing or food, etc., is southeast European or Euroasian technology. The geographical position of the Hellenic Peninsula, as well as the stages of its history, its contacts over the centuries with the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and the Asiatic peoples on the other, justify this identification.

105 182 Then, the most salient characteristic of all the technology is their great simplicity. All the crafts analyzed can be practiced by anyone at all, and demand only a minimum of knowledge, experience and skill.

The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 182 177 [176] To this characteristic another should be added, namely the traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

27. On the idea of reinterpretation see: M. J. Herskovits: Les bases de l'anthropologie, p. 259f., as well as the commentaries of R. Bastide: Religions africanes. p. 17.

/120 cont./

105 182 177 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime (fig. 44),[A] which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 401 182 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 182 511 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their [171] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28) in the highest degree.

105 182 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

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28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

[A] /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/121 cont./

105 182 That the technological expression of Sarakatsani society bears the imprint of its fundamental conditions (pastoral life, nomadism, isolation, possibilities offered by geographic environment, etc.) is sufficiently evident, so there is no necessity to stress it further.

The dialogue between this society and its technology thus results in a true harmony of their respective aspects--a harmony of a definite effectiveness in the structuring of this human environment.

/122/

PART TWO

/123/

THE SOCIAL WORLD

121 KINFOLK, OTHER SARAKATSANI, THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE

Kinfolk, other Sarakatsani, and their society as a whole constitute new aspects, three fundamental problems which are at the basis of the Sarakatsani social world in the strict sense of the term.

The kin, the other Sarakatsani, their integration into multiple groups, these groups themselves and their mutual inter-relationships, these are the specific sociological aspects of the more general problem of life together, of establishing relationships between people within their ingroup as well as with other people, a problem can find its solution only in the making of effective arrangements.

128 The present section will be devoted to it. We shall study succesively the forms of group life which constitute the core of it. How they come about. How they are organized and how they function, while reciprocally bound to one another. Finally, what kind of life takes place within them and means there are for its control.

121 In concrete terms, we distinguish five units in the social life of the Sarakatsani: the conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, finally, the society that surrounds them. Seen from the outside, they give the impression of a whole made up of concentric circles, with the conjugal family as its nucleus.

This impression is illusory and simplistic. For these units, considered as actual social groups, exerts their dynamic force on several levels and in numerous directions. They therefore develop multiple relationships, interchanges and communications from one to

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

594 /124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.
[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young [591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474
612
596 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage.
[583] Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our
[595] herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/125 cont./

58 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b)
171 it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree
671 (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no
671 /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all,
186 the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque
[753] you risk catching leprosy," (1) the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage
[613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

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1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible].

/126 cont./

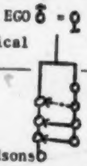
582 613 182 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 582 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System



Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
I.	Sons	Brothers	
II.	Grandsons	1st Cousins	Uncle 1st degree
III.	Great-grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
IV.	Great-great grandsons	3rd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta: Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 613 173 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/127 cont./

602 information only up to a common ancestor four generations back and
613 never beyond that. (3)
173

3. *Ibid.*, A. II, p. 6-7.

582 Must we conclude from this that kinship by blood transmitted by a common male ancestor is an absolute obstacle to marriage so far as it exists (socially and not biologically, of course)? In other words: is marriage between collateral kinsmen having the same male ancestor and within the limits we have defined considered incestuous and therefore forbidden? The Sarakatsani do not give a definite answer. /128/ But the facts are there and they speak for themselves in the affirmative.

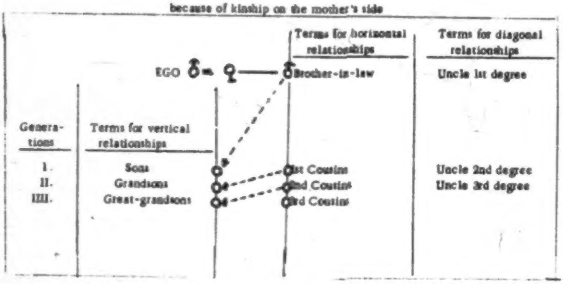
However, the role of kinship, insofar as it is an obstacle to marriage varies further in the following cases:

First, kinship on the mother's side prevents marriage only up to the sixth degree, so that we were able to set up the following table (no. 2).

TABLE No. 2

Obstacles to marriage

because of kinship on the mother's side


Terms for horizontal relationships
Terms for diagonal relationships
EGO ♂ = ♀ —— ♂ Brother-in-law
Uncle 1st degree
Generations
Terms for vertical relationships
I.
II.
IIII.
Sons
Grandsons
Great-grandsons
1st Cousins
2nd Cousins
3rd Cousins
Uncle 2nd degree
Uncle 3rd degree

/127 cont./

582 Thus marriage is permitted in this case between uncle and niece in the third degree and between cousins in the third degree; this amounts to the same thing, /as marriage/ after the third generation and between great-grandchildren of the mother and those of her brother.

It is essential to emphasize that here there is a possibility open
of passing from one generation to another (uncle in the second degree and
[602] his niece). As a result, we may say that this system; first, compensates
(613) for the severe restrictions to marriage introduced by the preceding

/128 cont./

582 system, since it considerably widens the circle of potential spouses;
602 second, offers us proof that a double blood tie existing between members
(213) of the same lineage reinforces kinship. We rediscover here the corollary of the preceding statement concerning the /129/ limits of incest, limits which, in the case of matrilateral kinship, are less far-reaching; third, finally, it reveals a fact of primordial importance, namely that agnatic kinship is considered superior to cognatic kinship. (4)

4. According to the terminology of Roman law "sunt autem agnati per virilis sexus personas cognatione juncti" (Gaius) and again "agnati sunt a patre cognati" (Ulpien).

Moreover, this same limit of the sixth degree of kinship applies also in affinal kinship, as the Sarakatsani say, known as quasi-alliance, according to the formula of Byzantine law. Involved here is the so-called kinship which is created between kin of the husband and kin of the wife because of the marriage of these two individuals.

Properly speaking, this is not a true kinship, but a close relationship between the members of two families where a son of one and a daughter of the other have contracted marriage. This connection was considered close enough by the orthodox church and the Byzantine legislators to warrant forbidding marriage between the husband's brother and his wife's kin up to the sixth degree of kinship, for reasons of modesty and discretion. The intent was to prevent relatives of one from taking advantage of the access available to them through this connection to the family of the other for the purpose of establishing relations with one of its members. (5)

5. In that epoch the kinsmen who had access to the women's apartments were the father, the brother and the uncle:... reference in Greek follow here p. 129.

It should not be forgotten that in those times the women lived in the gynaeceum. (6) /separate women's appartments/

6. See François Filelfe: Correspondances, p. 97.

/129 cont./

582 Now, the Sarakatsani respect this rule and prohibit marriage between individuals linked by such relationships. Their expression "sixth degree by affinity" has no other meaning.

608 That is not all. There are, besides, among the Sarakatsani (7) two other kinds of kinship, artificial ones in this case, which also create obstacles to marriage.

582 7. In the official law as well.

These are, first, a spiritual kinship which is established on the one hand between the godfather and his god-daughter (the former is considered the spiritual father of the latter), and, on the other hand, between the godfather's son and the god-daughter (considered siblings). Obviously, marriage between these individuals is prohibited.

608 The second kind of kinship is that of fraternization. /130/ This is a practice observed among male friends over 18 years of age who, choose a woman, or rather a young girl, "to fraternize" with them; she is considered a sister to all of them. (8)

8. According to D. Loukopoulos: Poimeniká, p. 211: "the participation of the woman makes the fraternization bond stronger."

[788] The ritual of fraternization, of Byzantine origin, is a religious ritual: the priest ties with "the belt of the Holy Virgin" the hands of those who "fraternize," while pronouncing the prayers provided by the Orthodox church for this ceremony. (9)

9. It should be noted in this connection that the Byzantine Church has condemned fraternization officially on several occasions. See: N. Pantazopoulou: Éllenōn..., p. 32, note 45 where one finds a copious bibliography. The interdict has not been followed. Fraternization has been practiced since the Byzantine era continuously to [171] this day. It is likewise practiced in various forms, among other peoples, such as the Serbs, for example.

/130 cont./

608 That is why the participants afterwards call each other stavradelphia, that is to say "brothers in the cross."

The stavradelphia owe each other fraternal love and a solidarity which sometimes exceeds that of natural brothers. As to their only sister, they owe her protection and support in all circumstances of her life.

The ethnic origin of the participants, or better still, their belonging to different cultural groups, does not constitute an obstacle to the fraternization. For this act may be carried out not only between Sarakatsani, but between Sarakatsani, peasants and even Koutsovalaques. We should keep this in mind because it will permit us to understand the multiple functions of marriage among our herders.

608 582 Be that as it may, marriage is, of course, prohibited between the stavradelphia and their sister.

It is likewise prohibited between one of the participants and the sisters, cousins and other natural kinsmen up to the sixth degree of another participant, for the latter occupies the place of a true brother in the family of the former.

Fraternization "in the cross," therefore, concerns not only the participants, but also their respective families. Thus there is created "a whole corporation with numerous ramifications." (10)

10. D. Loukopoulou: Ibid., p. 211.

* * * *

582 /131/ From all that has gone before we may conclude that the system of prohibitions examined above prescribes a negative behavior in the sense that the Sarakatsani knows perfectly well who the individuals are who cannot be considered as potential spouses; but he never knows who the individual is whom he will marry. The marriage rules of Sarakatsani society do not prescribe marriage of one of its members with a specific person. [583] Consequently, it is certain that we are faced with a generalized system of exchange of women, (11) the existence of which plays a very important

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
[583]

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 582 [183] As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 582 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.

584 [114] The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the [583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

12. According to B. Skafidas: *Ibid*., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

/132 cont./

584 been reached.

584 574 431 The father of the future husband then visits the father of the future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompaning him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this 584 moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

* * * *

584 581 The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14) Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

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13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality: R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p.233.

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 621 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [171] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
(124) It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

602 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
(128) because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

(581) Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
(182)

/134 cont./

586 solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that
587 divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established
182 [581] alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise
to hostilities and disorder.

586 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife,
182 an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the
578 estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can
602 scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem,
of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of
tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective
level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would
separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would
be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which
could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective
587 grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives
602 of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the
858 children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If dis-
578 affections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only
[613] the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms
would thus become considerable.

581 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility
182 of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require
that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals
and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life
[586] together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the
[587] widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/135 cont./

602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
571 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 /136/ The Principles of Married Life.

602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[494] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)
constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

[113] 17. See Plutarch: *Lycurgue*: 15. --M. Delcourt: *Hephaistos*, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: *La vie quotidienne en Grèce*, p. 84.

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a *symbol* and *a lesson*, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, *owes obedience and respect to her*
(562) *husband whose relationship to her is that of a master*.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.

562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:

(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: *Ibid*., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

583 /137 cont./
585 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
602 In impeccable fashion and bright
533 As the sun and the moon...
539 You must prostrate yourself,
562 You must honor your mother-in-law.
And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
562 And thought well of in the entire world...

583 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
585 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
602 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
261 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
[516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her
physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult
to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version
reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times.
What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit
to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very
well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if
the respective kin groups of her husband'and her parents migrate to regions
far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did
not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

(551) The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
(553) that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
(586) perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
(182) what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
(533) the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
(538) Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it says:
(539)

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

(593) Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
(594) expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that *the husband owes his wife*
562 *protection* socially as well as economically.

594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: *Le cycéon* /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: *Pédagogie*, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only
[842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.

[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the *legitimacy of the descendants*. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is *pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant* /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[654] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20) Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

/140 cont./

585 602 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world,"
848 surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that
562 everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her
613 descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure,
602 let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in
the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of
[342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody
sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that
the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the
833 sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the
602 family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the
family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

577 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework
824 of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions,
831 especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine,
> [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons,
> despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an
> extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must
"sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the
legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would
he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society
rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded
on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can
easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether
special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a
true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with
his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relation-
ships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dissolution
602 of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman
convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential,
[593] first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children.
[152] Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who
betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love,
[182] since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It
merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their
relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom
involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently
shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/143 cont./
585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.
--My blessings go with you my daughter (of my son)
May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared
him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his
future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here
once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed
form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says
that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the
men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
594

593 /144 cont./

> 562 124 123 114 264 22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

561 594 [593] that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 421 594 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 594 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc,

[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to
his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature.
And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this
opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

/145 cont./
121 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between
594 the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

* * * *

594 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form
593 of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/
the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well
as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and
their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction
of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces.
To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of
the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle
of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each
enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and
(428) the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating
to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain
collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother
of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision
594 of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group
of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when
she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social values. As
a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance
of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she
performs these functions without any interference and control.

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
[593] tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern
themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the
others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
[596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
[494] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the
general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of fights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. P.S.

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TABLE No. 3

Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

594 593 /147 cont./

obedience to husband and sons.-Female tasks.-Education of children.	MOTHER	Management of household and of female tasks.-Economic factor.-Means of alliance.-Entrusted with magic and religious ritual.
Obedience to father, brothers, mother,-Female tasks.- Education of children.	DAUGHTERS	Economic factors.-Means of alliance.-Future mothers of families.
Education	CHILDREN	Freedom
OBLIGATION	HIERARCHY of CONJUGAL FAMILY	COMPENSATION

594 128 /148/ their tasks, in order to clarify the remarks we have made (table no. 3).

594 593 Now, a close examination of this table shows very clearly that, though the members of the family are obliged to obey each other and devote themselves to laborious tasks to which they seem harshly bound, they exercise, at the same time, a certain power over each other and enjoy an esteem in society derived from their work and their tasks.

In other words: though the constraints exercised by one tier of the pyramid over lower tiers and the demands of the different tasks corresponding to each tier enslave the persons who find themselves placed there, the vertical distribution of power and prestige based on the competence of each one, gives all the members of the family and to each in particular genuine satisfactions.

As a result, it is justifiable to say that within the framework of the family, where there is an obligation of its members, there is also compensation.

121 593 594 We do not maintain that this duality "obligation-compensation" corresponds to an equation, and that compensation exactly balances obligation. After all, the social repercussion of this double play does not necessarily presuppose the equality of the two terms. In fact, looking at things from their human as much as their pragmatic aspect, one may conclude that, while prescribing strict rules of family behavior,

/148 cont./
121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:
533 --O wife! May you have sons
585 So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)
[539] 24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182
593 and make the best of it.
594
829

/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/150 cont./

596 The second, constituting a kind of family in "horizontal form"
613 (the second provision of designation) includes juxtaposed lineages descended from a single ancestor who is no longer living or who has become disabled and therefore socially non-existant.

The first /form/ looks like a single pyramid, relatively homogeneous, placed under the authority of the ancestor.

The second is made up of a group of contiguous pyramids each of which has its own head. The following figures, 1 and 2, give a schematic but clear idea of this (table no. 4). A

[128] /151/ Having established these points, let us begin our analysis with the study of the economic phenomena which correspond to this new unit.

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THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY.

Within the extended family economic activity is organized according to four principles: 1st co-ownership; 2nd common use resources; 3rd cooperation and 4th group ownership of the income.

The first of these principles expresses, as we see, the system of ownership among the Sarakatsani.

With reference to the variants formulated below, one must distinguish two forms of co-ownership. In the vertical form of the extended
[613] family the entire family fortune (livestock, equipment, tools, money, etc.) is in fact the unilateral and personal property of the head, the common ancestor of the lineage. It seems therefore that the vertical form is incompatible with the principle of co-ownership. However, a closer observation of reality will quickly show that this is merely illusory. We already know that the adult sons of the ancestor and, with better right, the married sons and heads of families may demand their

A. /See p. 168-A--Analyst/

/150 cont./

TABLE No. 4

Forms of the Extended Family

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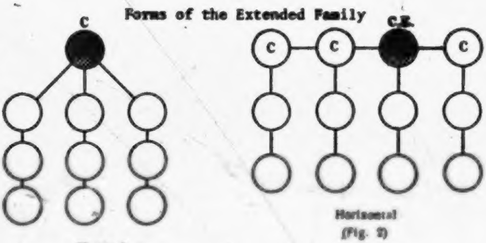

Vertical
(Fig. 1)

Horizontal
(Fig. 2)

C = head
C. E. = elected head

/ 151 cont./

596 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

421 Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended 421 family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle 428 which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance. 428 The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families. [612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have [171] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

/152 cont./

596 428 [771] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 421 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/153 cont./

596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

/153 cont./

596 There is, however, a difference, the sociological significance of which is important. While the father in the conjugal family and the ancestor in the extended family are holders of power /154/ that has devolved upon them by reason of their place in the hierarchy of kinship, the elected head is merely an agent. His mandate, implied and included in what everybody expects of him, imposes upon him obligations unknown to the ex officio heads. He thus finds himself subject to the control of his subjects to whom he must render an account of his activity. If his management is slightly or entirely inefficient, he may be dismissed and replaced by another who will better serve the interests of the co-owners . However, here some details are necessary.

The elected head has absolute power in the economic domain. Everyone owes him obedience and everybody must abide by his decisions when they concern the use of the shared wealth. Of course, he may ask the opinion of others. But this is not obligatory, any more that it is obligatory that he follow the opinion expressed. Constituting the chief agent in the economic life of the family, disposing of funds and acting in the name of all, both for production and consumption, the elected manager-chief finally becomes a sort of central bank permanently at the service of the family group. This formula clearly sets forth the prerogatives of the head. And it makes intelligible his obligation to give an account of his activity--an accounting which is always made after the action.

596
461
474 Nevertheless, to speak of "economic exploitation" is at the same time to speak of "work." The principle of cooperation which we have seen in connection with other aspects of Sarakatsani economy is equally valid in the domain of everyday labor. The various tasks that are carried out in connection with economic activity are performed in the name of the group.

This formula means that there is first of all an allocation of work

/154 cont./

596 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each
461 task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within
474 the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dis-
434 postion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not
474 individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been
434 realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results
474 are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family
454 and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the
556 level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tseligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And
(571) the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have reper-
474 cussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful
556 family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/
571 a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

596 /155 cont./
474 556 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
591 easier and more profitable.

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially,
to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a
certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type
of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story
which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his
wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it
was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of
the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his
mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[789] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at
rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/156 cont./

596 494 689 434 [431] joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.

However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of [illegible] importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsa[illegible]t absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. [illegible] old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

596 494 689 431 182 It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect, that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman, and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospitality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 494 434 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 494 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles

/157 cont./
596 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a
474 family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well
121 as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know
596 why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on
474 their economic activity.

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be
596 profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must
474 be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care
[594] and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is
[464] numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomadism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsáni society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tséligato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of nomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

/158 cont./

596 474 602 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Something more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 128 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] [594] [613] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

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[171] 34. The model of this type of living-together already existed in Greece in Homeric times: *Iliad* VI, 244: "The Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[221] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

596 462 /159 cont./

[313] [322] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] [439] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] [233] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer, prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 233 463 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds. Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,
--of ewes from that age on up,
--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,
--of sterile ewes,
--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/160 cont./

596 233 463 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks, namely:

Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 463 554 474 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in (437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 432 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

[233] [464] --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

[875] --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

[796] --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

[256] [286] --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

[656] --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs
of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of
milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the
entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable
from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run
by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into
cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of
shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tsélígato,
may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside,
so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to
him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to
supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests.
For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 474 /163 cont./
554 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
434 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.

[436] [581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the
management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

The education of the children is also carried out collectively.
[861] They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
(562)

* * * *

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
(561) respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/164 cont./

596 Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his
594 554 descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or
[584] give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice
of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the
system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the
societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are
ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in
the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal
[584] family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated
[178] seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life,
whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of
"veto" in this domain.

Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very
[584] significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his
children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he
respects.

* * * *

596 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the
606 wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended
554 family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their
part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently
married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the
brothers previously married.

596 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended
554 family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this
family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/165 cont./

596 are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected
554 to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his
[601) sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601) To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among
(114) the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort
[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

[113) 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

596 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a
601 wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also, are
561 required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the
554 same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/166 cont./

596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.

The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [796] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

596 882 554 [627] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the [535] ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

/167/

596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

527 37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[954] [789] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 593 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must

/167 cont./

594 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and
593 the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

596 /168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

596 When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to
598 act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

596 However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the
[626] moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to
[128] it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to
596 the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

594 /168 cont./

596 family, they can, should the case arise, withdraw from the extended family.

596 562 Though the women have transferred their independence, their initiative and the free disposal of themselves to the men, their female responsibilities in common economic activities and in magico-religious manifestations, their role in the succession and in the creation of alliances give them considerable satisfactions.

The same is true of the hierarchy within their group and the resulting transfer /of rights and privileges/: first, all the women to the wife of the head, the wives to their mothers-in-law, the recently married women to their sisters-in-law married before them, /169/ and so on, /transfers/ which are compensated for by their authority over the women and children in their own family, by the hope of one day becoming wives or heads, mothers-in-law or older sisters-in-law, and thus exerting in the future a sort of sovereignty over other women.

Social Functions and Social Control of the Extended Family.

596 The entire analysis of the way of life of the extended family chearly shows that this group is an omni-functional group in the sense that the Sarakatsani expects from it the gratification of all his needs,
596 474 both material and moral. The Tséligato is a supra-functional group. But its functions imitate those of the extended family in a great many respects. If it is, in certain respects, more efficient than the latter, this is due to the fact that it has at its disposal a larger number of means of action. However, from the functional point of view, the priority over all the Sarakatsani groups belongs indisputably to the
[594] extended family. The proof resides in the established fact that neither the conjugal family nor the Tséligato can dispense with it, whereas it can carry on its life outside the Tséligato.

596 626 We have not dwelt upon the concrete functions of the extended family, for we have treated them all in connection with its life except one that we have not examined sufficiently: this is the social control (39)

/169 cont./

596 626 [113] exercised by the family.

39. On the idea of social control: E.A. Ross: *A Survey of the Foundations of Order* /cited in English/; R.E. Park and E. W. Burgess: *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* /cited in English/, L.L Bernard: *Social Control in its Sociological Aspects* /cited in English/; H.M. Johnson: *Sociology*, etc. See also the systematic and critical exposition by G. Gurvitch: "Le contrôle social " in: *Sociologie au XX^e siecle*, Vol. I.

There is no doubt that the Sarakatsani are committed to the strict preservation of their way of life, as we shall see later on and in our final chapter. What is important to note here is that their society, in order to protect itself from possible changes, moves along two courses which converge: it defends at any price the integrity of its cultural armature and it obliges its members to conform to the traditional norms and models of behavior, both for individuals and for the group. That this conformity leads to the preservation of the cultural armature which in turn gives meaning to conformity is obvious.

/170/Now in practice it is the extended family that finds itself charged with this mission, first of all through the *education of the children*. It molds their moral and psychological personalities according to the ideas and values peculiar to it. [869]

Secondly, /it carries out this mission/ by the *direct and tight control* of the life of all its members. Its way of life, living together, the community, the collectivity, represent means highly efficient in this regard. No one can escape them. This control goes very far. It reaches even areas which, by definition, ought to enjoy a certain independence, indeed a profound spontaneity, as for example, maternal or filial affection, the joy born of a festival, or the sadness of mourning. In all these instances neither an individual nor the group

/170 cont./

596 626 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription. [585] [593] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 613 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'àpres Durkheim, p. 109.

596 171 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.

[171] [594] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 171 113 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up. Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)

42. See E. Renan: Histoire du peuple d'Israël, pp. 15-25.

the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: La Cité Grecque, pp. 708, 45. Also: Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque, p. 240. Also: Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: La propriété foncière en Grèce, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: La Cité Antique, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

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44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[776] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595]
[848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

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Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

/172 cont./

596 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority
554 of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as *"quasi-patriarchal."*

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 In the Slavonic *Zadruga* (47) the *Staréchina*, its head, is assisted by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the *Staréchina* may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the *Zadruga* the post of *Staréchina* can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

554 47. See D. Novakovich: *La Zadruga*, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124.
191 É. Sicard: *La Zadruga*, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372.
(113) Archpriest Douchich: *Le Monténegro*, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the *Code civil Serbe*, and 709 of the *Code de Monténegro*.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the *t'amen* who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the *amin* (his council).(48)

48. R. Maunier: *Ibid.*, p. 64 f.

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

/173 cont./

596 Sarakatsani extended family managed by an elected head as paternal, (49)

[114] 49. This term is used in its ordinary meaning as it refers to the attitude of a father toward his family not in the sense proposed by Durkheim, Ibid., p. 1, footnote by M. Mauss which coincides with the Germanic family. Nor is it the paternal family described by M. Mauss: Manuel, p. 137, in which the wives are strangers to the family and merely produce children.

taking into account the functions and responsibilities of head. It is [829] very significant that the Sarakatsani themselves, in speaking of the functions of the head of the extended family say "that he is a father for all and that he must perform the same tasks as a real father."

* * * *

These last statements set us somewhat apart from ethnographers who, concerned with this problem, have stated in a general, but it seems to us a superficial, manner that the Sarakatsani extended family is a patriarchal family. (50)

50. See Mme. Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

596 191 Strict patriarchy, as we have seen, does not exist there. The status and position of its members, chiefly the women and the children, are based on more progressive ideas--ideas which have been expressed for a long time in Greece.

Even Aristotle, in describing the family of the pre-classical epoch, says that the husband is the natural master of the family community, since "nature has denied the women and the child the aptitude to rule."

Therefore the head of the family knows how to adapt his authority in his own interests and exercise power "constitutionally over the wife and monarchically over the children."

/174 / These Aristotelean statements show very well the humanization, so to speak, of the Hellenic family within the framework of the City---

/174 cont./

596 humanization which was the result not only of the brilliance of the
171 *gentilices* family units under the influence of the City, but also of the general progress of humanistic ideas, above all after the appearance of the Sophists. (51)

[113] 51. The Roman world too knew a similar evolution after the fall of democracy. The *Lex Julia de adulteriis*: D. 48, 5, 22-1 and other texts show the change: P. 5, 2, 1, G. 1, 117, 118, C.J. 4, 43, 1, etc. On the later rights of the Roman wife: J. Gage: *Matronalia*, etc. p. 55. Let us also recall the famous definition of marriage of Modestinus: "*conjunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicato.*"

Moreover, under the influence of Christianity, Byzantine Greece was acquainted with a family in which "the social position of the wife was singularly elevated." According to the preambles drafted by Emperor Leon VI the Wise, to accompany his *Novellae* regulating marriage, the woman "should remember that she was created from Adam's rib to be only an ally, a help to the man. It is he who is chief member, the head of a unique body formed by the marriage."

It is therefore not necessary, as is generally done, to refer to Germanic, Teutonic families with bilateral kinship, as Tacitus says, (52) whose members bear the name of their agnatic lineage as well as that of the maternal (uterine) lineage, in order to explain the condition of the woman in the family and the kindred, as observed in the area occupied by the Hellenes.

52. *Germania*.

It is even very probable--especially if the theory that the Sarakatsani appeared very recently holds true--that the details of their family structure and their system of kinship were influenced by the ancient Hellenic systems of values and those of Byzantium.

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596 If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the
613 Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal
591 and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship,
602 but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live
596 communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/
(421) men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes
an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative
474 and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and
described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: *'Agroticha*, pp. 35-39.

311 *The lack of available pastures*, owing to: first, the steep and
233 rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration
of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been
427
(423) obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties.
427 For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate
571 themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/175 cont./
233 427 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.
571 (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small
426 herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the
177 peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from
which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 By contrast, the Tsèligato, having the possibility of providing
477 funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only
426 596 rational solution for the indigent.

596 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended
474 family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock
426 which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with
233 424 other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their
supplementary work potential.

233 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to
177 say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a
position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very
engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their
[212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are
generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to
177 prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-
554 economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary
474 education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has
been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and
of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the
474 economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family
[233] already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship
(affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tsèligato creates

596 /176 cont./
474 ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

596
INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

474 The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the
554 head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato.
This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative.
[428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself
during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the
most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active,
and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His
father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps
the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns
[871] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the
[868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his
technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge
and his experience.

/177 cont./

596 474 554 However, one must not believe that the system of succession annuls the principle of the revocation of the extended family head, in case he is incompetent. For, even if the successor to the old head is invested by the latter, the head of the individual families dismiss him if he proves incompetent and replace him with someone else who then also becomes the head of the Tséligato.

474 [596] Moreover, as in the extended family, the participants in the Tséligato are required to obey the orders of the Tséligas, to work and to check on the management.

474 675 The principles according to which this entire mechanism functions are contained in the agreements reached among the participants--agreements constituting a bilateral covenant, the general conditions of which are:

The Tséligas is obliged:
--to protect the participants and their families;
--to carry out all commercial, administrative and other contacts with surrounding society;
--to rent the necessary pastures;
--to supervise the work within the Tséligato;
--to furnish each one with provisions and the various material objects which are indispensable to him, as well as the equipment for the livestock;
/178/--to manage the common enterprise of economic utilization of livestock and to keep the accounts.

In return the participants must:
--obey the Tséligas;
--cooperate closely with each other;
--perform the tasks entrusted to them;
--share the expenses of the common enterprise;
--finally, should the occasion arise, defend the Tséligato even at the risk of their lives.

/178 cont./

474 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there
233 are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example,
464 the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd.
465 If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work
233 for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to
464 their own family.

474 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch
233 ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is
435 to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in
554 case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also
672 responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

/179 cont./

474 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who
554 have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers,
etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage,
[434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not
[432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside,
sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to
the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude
596 that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is
178 not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close obser-
675 vation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has
been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus
in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution
and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions,
sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family
596 and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit
pecul[illegible] to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements
675 which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six
months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.

554 The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/179 cont./

474 He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
554 shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[574] negotiations with merchants take place.

[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the
grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
[675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but
after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[627] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 [621] The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 627 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/181 cont./

474 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men
571 from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer,
461 if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while
521 gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

[887] In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

[533] The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting
132 cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must
233 protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the
596 head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

[695] For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

/182 cont./

474 596 625 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 182

Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55) an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619

SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made [474] up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

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[113] 55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-311.

/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 186 184 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended: the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 171 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »). that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 184 186 [582] The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

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/184 cont./

619 Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One
186 does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter
[474] being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani
474 society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically
596 limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

179 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

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179 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign [171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

596

Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

594 Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57) we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tsėligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tsėligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[619] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

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57. See *La famille conjugale*, p. 7.

619 /186 cont./
474 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
596 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
594 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the
zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already
enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 184 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
182 596 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
594 474 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The

/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 184 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
596 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
594 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
474 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
[613] core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to
surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances.
[199] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society
and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may
compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play
towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of
the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 594 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
474 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities
inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of
the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 594 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
474 an organization.

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his
responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family
members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[474] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally,
[177] constitutes the organization of this society.

[474] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

596 In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
594 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
182 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
177 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
474 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.

This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable
[571] to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person
cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and
conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

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474 182 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 433 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tseligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 439 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not unmindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the
possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the
Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These
facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of
avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression
"closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which
is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions
for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for
solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable
or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family
and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not
afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them
significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to
them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal
accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

436 /192 cont./
437 participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the
479 other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with
5[illegible] [469 the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

177) Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the
436 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to
474 handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide
funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani
476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the
suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions
and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first
of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for
if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation
would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-
[571) professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition.
[421) Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a
strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani
439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities
462 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men
434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption"
the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule.
433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry;
562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the
raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the
tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing.
The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.
462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro-
342 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes
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462 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of
342 construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is
433 almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly
562 related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted
562 to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are
433 the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many
562 others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism.
177 This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

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Now, in order properly to understand the phenomena relevant to the legal life of our nomads, we must examine:

- --Sarakatsani law;
- --Hellenic law;
- --the relationships that exist between the two;
- --finally, the repercussions of these relationships on the social life of the Sarakatsani.

The systematic requirements of our research demand that we begin our analysis with the laws of surrounding society (which form the sort of legal atmosphere in which Sarakatsani law was born and has developed); next, that we examine the relationships of the two systems of law and the repercussions of these relationships on /196/ Sarakatsani life. This examination will culminate in a discussion of Sarakatsani law as such to which special attention will be paid.

Thus, the traits and functions of the latter will become clear and evident.

* * * *

S [175] In our introduction we stated that the appearance of the Sarakatsani coincided with the end of the Byzantine Empire.

S 671 171 Inasmuch as our knowledge of the legal life of Hellenism during the Turkish occupation is now considerable, thanks to the masterful research of the Greek professor N. Pantazopoulos, (1) historian of law, we are in a position to follow closely the development of law among the Hellenes from the probable appearance of our nomads up to the present time.

This development had several phases which we shall review briefly.

After the fall of Constantinople (1453), Turkish law, public as well as private, replaced Byzantine law then in force among the Greeks. However, the sultan Mohammed II, anxious to conform to the rules of the Koran

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G 671 175 1. See particularly: Ἀπὸ τῆς Λογίας Παραδόσεως εἰς τὸν Ἀστ. Κώδικα. —

S 671 171 G 671 175

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(chapter 5, 51) which allows all conquered peoples the right of extraterritoriality, and to exercise a policy of tolerance toward the institutions of the vanquished, (2) granted privileges to the Greek population.

2. A. Toynbee: Histoire, pp. 193-200, gives a good account of Ottoman administrative ideas.

S 671 171 G 671 795 175

The Ecumenical Patriarch and the Orthodox Church (the only organization of the Hellenes which survived the disaster) thenceforth assumed the legal functions of the Hellenic nation and represented an authority to which the Christians could turn in order to settle their dispates.

However, this new ecclesiastical authority, at any rate during the first century of occupation, remained more theoretical than actual: first, because no method was provided for carrying out the verdicts rendered; second, because it dealt chiefly with questions pertaining to family and inheritance law, hence its domain was very limited.

On the other hand, during this same period, Turkish law required that all other questions be brought before the Turkish tribunals. Moreover, in order that a certain number of acts and /197/ covenants concluded between Christians by legally valid, they were obliged to take on the form provided by Turkish law.

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Nonetheless, injured patriotism and distrust of their occupiers on the part of the resident Greeks, lax and inefficient organization of the Ottoman administration, finally the establishment of excommunication by the Church in the form of sanctions against those who refused to conform to its verdicts and who preferred to appeal to the legal process of the infidel enemies were sufficient motives for the Greek population to turn more and more to ecclesiastical law. And so the powers of the latter expended in time.

- The law applied, moreover, continued to be the Byzantine law, included in the legislation of the Emperors, as well as the Cannon law of the Orthodox Church.

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Parallel with this movement another took shape. The development of a

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local auto-administration of Greeks in region enjoying local privileges resulted in the creation of civil tribunals whose verdicts were rendered according to the rules of locally established customary law as well as the creation of a public law which was their own. (3)

3. Cf. N. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ: «Τινά περί τῆς [illegible] τῶν προνομίων. — Ν. ΜΟΣΧΟΒΑΚΗ: Τό Ἑλληνικόν Δημόσιον Δίκαιον. — Δ. ΤΣΟΠΟΤΟΥ: «Γῆ καί Γεωργοί τῆς Θεσσαλίας». — G. Tenekides: *La notion juridique de l'indépendance.*

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A third movement must still be added: justice administered by arbiters proposed and accepted by the parties concerned.

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As early as 1600 the Turks had begun to recognize ecclesiastical law, the law of tribunals and finally the law of arbiters in the sense that the Sultan sometimes forbade the Turkish magistrates to interfere in matters already judged by the Greeks (clergy, popular judges, arbiters), and sometimes compelled the Turkish authorities to carry out by armed force the verdicts pronounced by the Hellenes. (4)

4. See Verat: (Decree) of the sultan Achmet A. in:
M. Gedeon: Ἐπίσημα Γράμματα Τουρκικά.

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Now the Sarakatsani of this period, considered as a Greek, was immersed in this multiplicity of laws: Turkish law (public and private) first of all; then Hellenic law applied by the Church (Byzantine law and canon law); customary law(public and private) coming from the privileged communities and differing according to localities; finally, the law applied by arbiters on the basis of their consciences (equity and common sense).

/198/ This situation lasted until the liberation of the country and the creation of the Hellenic State.

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At this time (1835) a decree was promulgated to the effect that the official private law was no different from Byzantine law and also that the rules of custom would stand as laws. As a result, the State tribunals had to pronounce their verdicts not only according to the rules of actual law, but also according to the rules imposed by local custom, provided the latter did not run counter to the rules of law strictly speaking.

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671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G 671 gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
175 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the
geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern
provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules
of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they
may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the
clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this
[128] law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

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S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 [175] relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.

/199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a
private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubju-
S [688] gated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,

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671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.

177 Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a
[688] very relative influence on our herders.

671 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
627 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
692 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse
to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani ~~very~~ much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
177 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs,
too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[178] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this
period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

3: Kabbadias--222 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Greece EH1

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671 /200/ As a matter of fact, the law that developed during the Turkish occupation in the local communities is a law of cooperation whereas Byzantine law, inspired by Roman law, is dominated by individualism. The Greeks of this period grouped themselves with all kinds of associations (economic, religious, political and, though this may seem strange under an occupation, even military). (6)

6. N. Pantazopoulos: «Ἑλλήνων συσσωματώσεις» with a copious bibliography.

Local law was adapted to the needs of this collective organization of life.
S It should therefore not be astonishing that Sarakatsani law, which also
671 favors cooperation, should have been inspired by the model of external
177 law, and that it should have been formed on the basis of the same princi-
S ples, despite its own peculiarities. However, this is merely a hypothesis,
[174] absolute verification of which is impossible at the moment for lack of
[114] data.

G Let us go on now to the examination of this same problem but within
671 the framework of the second period:
175 When the Hellenic kingdom was established the public law of the new
S state, though valid for and applicable to all Greeks and hence also to
[671] the Sarakatsani did not have much opportunity to interfere in their lives.
[177] The occupation and the war of independence left the country completely
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648 disorganized and devoid of any framework and any public service. It took
729 many years before services were created, before archives and registers were set up dealing with the population - even the sedentary population. One can imagine the difficulties administrative mechanism of the state.

G It is only very recently, in 1938, as we have seen, that they have
641 all submitted in practice to civic life, to the obligation of military service, to taxes, etc.

G Between these two date (1835-1938) the influence of public law on
671 their lives, very minor in the beginning and very strong toward the end,

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671 has developed gradually and in step with the organization of the administration.

S However, the actual and practical introduction of public law
671 among the /201/ Sarakatsani was disastrous to their way of life. The
177 obligatory contacts with the sedentary population (army, dependence on
G villages), participation in political activity (elections, participation
671 in local administration), the social policy of the State (integration of the Sarakatsani into agricultural cooperatives, concession of building sites, etc.), the legal control of their lives (application of the penal law, application of rules of public order), etc., have created conditions altogether unfavorable to their culture. Moreover, to the extent that our herders became legally villagers and found themselves involved in relationships and situations to which public law was applicable, they were obliged to conform to it and to adopt arrangements issuing from official private law.

Now the latter was also disastrous for Sarakatsani life, because it was promulgated, not in terms of their kind of life or of other kinds of traditional life that existed in the country, but according to principles of legal science formulated by lawyers, hence by technicians, who more often preferred faultless scientific constructions to what popular opinio necessitatis had developed in the course of centuries.

In this leveling and colorless juridical ambience Sarakatsani law has no chance to survive. Thus, the legal dualism of which we spoke at the beginning is yielding little by little to a monism, that of official law, public as well as private.

The day when this monism will be generally imposed is not far off. And that very day will sound the knell of the Sarakatsani, as such, since that law is deeply grafted to social reality.

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121 671 The preceding account is based entirely on the presupposition that the Sarakatsani have a law which is their own. Thus our task at present is to discover this law, to describe it, to stress its peculiarities, in a word, to establish its existence and its limits.

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SARAKATSANI LAW STRICTLY SPEAKING

IN SEARCH OF THE CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

The only truly legal manifestations that we find when we examine Sarakatsani life are the obstacles to marriage, the prohibition against sexual relations outside marriage, the contract with the Tséligas, arbitration, and finally crimes and misdemeanors.

However, are these truly matters of law? And if so, must one conclude from them that the legal life of the Sarakatsani is limited to these? Or must one rather concede, along with certain theorists, that the non-existence of courts and organized forces for the application of sentences shows that these herders are without any law? (7)

(113) 7. See W. Seagle: The quest for law/cited in English/, pp. 34, 60-69.

Or, finally, must we, along with other theorists, accept the opposite opinion which holds that our nomads have law, since they have customs, and that the totality of their customs represents the law of their society? (8)

(113) 8. See E. Sidney Hartland: Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 5. "Primitive law is in truth the totality of customs of the tribe"/cited in English/.

These alternatives show very well that in order to be able to adopt a position we must try to explore the life of the Sarakatsani from some workable criteria.

The general theory of law offe. several methods of approach to legal matters, based on the characteristics of the latter, which we hereby

/202 cont./
121 enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.
671 First, each point of law has a normative character. However,
121 since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this
183 critierion cannot be used by itself.

671 It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers, (9) and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10) . Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

[191] [113] 9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

[113] 10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

121 /203 cont./

671 11. See Br. Malinowski: Moeurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens
183 p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown:
[113) Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law, (12)

[584) 12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage.

and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation. If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

[113) 14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid, p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Net Adatrecht van Nederlandsh Indië, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms. For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely in the realization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

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671
183 legal norms are much more efficient and dynamic in resolving states of conflict than other types of norms, thanks to their means of persuasion. Thus, we come to the following point.

The distinguishing factor of law may also come from the social guarantee (16) which accompanies it and which is expressed in sanction and coercion. Law cannot live without this guarantee, at the risk of becoming a dead letter. There is therefore no doubt: this is indeed the essence of law, socially speaking. (17) Other norms also have ways of being enforced. If these ways fail, the value and nature of the content of the norm are not affected. On the other hand, if law is deprived of all means of enforcement, it changes its character, it becomes morality, usage, incentive, etc. It is no longer law.

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671 Therefore sanction and coercion validate law and reinforce the other criteria indicated by clearing them of all ambiguity and all misunderstanding when they coexist with these.

Precise details on this point will be given later on. We shall show that sometimes law is applied by direct coercion which means that

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16. According to the apt terminology of G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.

[113] 17. With some exceptions of which we shall speak farther on, all modern legal theorists or ethnologists seem to agree. Herewith a sample of the large bibliography of law on the subject: P. Roubier: Théorie générale du droit, p. 25.--R. Monier and others: Histoire des Institutions, p. 14.--B.N.Cardozo: The growth of the law/cited in English/, p. 52.--H. Kelsen: Théorie pure du droit, p. 61.--É. Durkheim: De la division du travail social p. 33-34.--R. Thurnwald: Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, vol. V, p. 2-4.--R. Pound: Sociologie du droit, p. 306.--E.A. Hoebel: The Law of primitive man/cited in English/, p. 26 etc.

/204 cont./

121 671 the presence of agents of law forces people to conform to it when no infraction has been committed (and before such an infraction). Coercion isolated from sanction, therefore constitutes one of the criteria of law.

However, although a social guarantee represents the chief criterion of the law, this criterion is utilizable only in combination with the totality of the criteria mentioned. For constraint, whatever its form, is not necessarily linked to law.

* * * *

/205/ Now, somewhat anticipating of our conclusion, we shall state immediately that the application of these criteria shows that the Sarakatsani have law, much more rich and complicated than appearances indicate, and that this law bears the imprint of the originality of their lives.

671 128 We propose now, for the convenience of the analysis, to present first the totality of the disclosed rules and principles, classified, not according to the classificatory criteria of evolved laws inadequate in the case that concerns us, (18) but according to the issues on which these rules are based. We shall make two subdivision: one devoted to non-criminal law and the other to criminal law. This distinction is based on what the Sarakatsani themselves say, although non-conformity to non-criminal law carries punishments and thus resembles penal law. Before going on to the second subdivision we shall try to show that everything we consider law truly possesses this character. For criminal law, this problem does not arise, the punishment bearing out the nature of the relevant rules.

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18. See J. Lips: Government, chap. X, p. 487.--O.W. Holmes: cited by Hoebel, ibid., p. 20: "The past gives us our vocabulary and fixes the limits of our imagination." /cited in English/

/205 cont./

671 We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation
[128] of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family
429 council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well
768 as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management
602 of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father, who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter
[474] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same
[596] Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos
of the two parties be neighbors.

/206 cont./

671 However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a
768 minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian"
562 of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or
429 if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protec-
[602 tion, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and
continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus
been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

671 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes
593 the form of strict law. (19)

19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its boarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

671 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never
593 has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death
428 otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

/207 cont./

671 593 [428] exception is quite understandable when one remembers that the inherited share forms the foundation for the future family of the inheritor and thus relates directly to the world of family values, to the world of the "family law."

In the second place, certain strict regulations demand formal application. The consent of the father to the betrothal and the marriage, or the legitimacy of his children must be manifested publicly and in accordance with a definite procedure, as we know. On the other hand, this solemnity and this formality are not demanded in other instances.

Rules of law relating to the Tséligato.

474 675 671 If one examines the possible content of the contract (described in Part III of the preceding chapter) which the participants make with the Tséligas, as well as all the rules bearing on its inner functioning, one may state:

First, that the contractual arrangements follow more informal rules. Custom is always there to guide the contracting parties and indicate to them the course to follow, the effectiveness of which time-honored experience guarantees.

Second, that the only rules which seem to be of a strict character are those which prescribe obedience to the head and solidarity among the participants (common defense against tresspassing and against all kinds of threats, etc.).

This distinction is justified. By definition economic relations demand a relatively flexible legal support in keeping with the nature of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the necessary homogeneity and safety of all demand absolute conformity to the corresponding rules.

However, neither in the first case nor in the second is formality demanded or a special form of expression of willingness required.

/208/ Finally, the contractual character of these relations leaves a great deal of leeway to individuals as sources of law, and to their

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474 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani
675 society and its cultural system.
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The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the
691 questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.

627 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always
692 obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who
691 are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[648] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society
[177] is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between
692 members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties
627
[602] concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and
[474] the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/208 cont./

691 692 627 customary law on the one hand, and ex bono et aequo on the other, according to circumstances and the case at hand.

/209/ However, the arbiters do not have any coercive powers.

Next come the family group, the Tséligato, finally surrounding society.

These groups do not form tribunals if one takes this term in its usual meaning in which the parties concerned present themselves, state their case and demand justice.

692 627 696 Nevertheless, these groups have real authority in disputes, their opinion or their attitude with regard to the adversaries already constituting a sentence. For their judgment, formulated either according to custom or spontaneously and according to the case at hand, is binding upon the person involved, inasmuch as they have means of constraint sufficient to enforce it.

It is precisely this fact which permits us to characterize these groups as agents of ajudication and to say that their opinion is a sentence.

Moreover, thay are actually empowered to execute the sentence of the arbiters.

627 696 Finally, in some disputes, the concerned individuals themselves may make decisions and themselves apply the sanction.

The cases in which they intervene are not numerous. Custom designates the beneficiaries of this ajudication and the conditions under which they must exercise it. However, custom gives them a certain latitude in action. Thus:

474 675 627 692 [686] First, the Tséligas may at any time annul his contract with one of his participants and expel him forthwith if he believes the latter has not properly fulfilled his obligations. In return, the participant expelled may then resort to arbitration that will pronounce upon the "sufficient grounds" of this expulsion. This mechanism is much like what

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
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21. K. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.

[596] Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.

692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

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/210 cont./
in their ajudication, prescribe obedience to the rules of the law, there will no longer be any doubt about their nature.

We shall approach this problem by examining arbitration.

(124) *Attempt at more detailed and precise investigation*: In questioning our informants we learned that "the interested parties do not even think of disobeying the arbiters." Is this because, as E. Sidney Hartland (22)

22. *Primitive Law*/cited in English/, p. 138.--See also the view of Sir Henry Sumner Maine: *Ancient Law*/cited in English/, pp. 50-52 that "the habit of obedience which makes law obligatory among primitives--and even among those not politically organized." We shall come back to these problems somewhat farther on.

and with him W. Rivers and P. Lowie maintain, /211/ the primitive automatically obeys all the rules society imposes on him? Or rather is it a kind of social constraint conceived in the Durkheimian manner that operates here? Or, finally, does the agreement of the interested parties to submit their dispute to arbiters include at the same time an implicit promise to obey the sentence that will be pronounced? (23)

23. Similar to the *compromissum* of Roman law.

All these explanations are without doubt insufficient. The automatic obedience "of the primitive" is merely a fiction, convenient but without foundation, the frivolity of which has been criticized by Br. Malinowski (24) (and more recently by E. A. Hoebel) (25)

24. *Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens*, p. 17.

25. *The law of primitive man* /cited in English/, p. 20-21.

so convincingly that P. Lowie was obliged to give it up in a new edition of his work. (26)

26. *Traité de Sociologie Primitive*, p. 389.

The idea of constraint is very general and consequently too abstract to provide an explanation of this phenomenon. Finally, the "promise to obey" the arbiters would not have any practical value without a force to

/211 cont./

121 696 make sure it is fulfilled; men are always men and automatic obedience or
692 a promise would mean nothing if carrying it out were entrusted only to
627 the good will of those concerned.

On this point our discussions with our informants are very revealing.
696 692 We were told that if the person recalcitrant to the arbiters' sentence
627 is a member of a Tséligato, no other Tséligato would ever accept his
626 cooperation. If he is a Tséligas, he would immediately be abandoned by
(686) all the participants and labelled "destroyer of sheepfolds" (Chalassostanis)
[474] --a name used to stigmatize a disloyal or incapable head.

The consequences of such a reaction are obvious. The one who is socially isolated, rejected by his own people, can expect only social degradation, economic ruin, exile into surrounding society. This last is his only refuge. But, since, the exiled one is not adapted to the latter he will see his condition worsen from day to day. Actually, this is enough to frighten the most courageous or the most refractory.

However, relying a little more on facts, we see that the recalcitrant one can hope for two things:

/212/ First, since he is a nomad, he can move far away from the place of arbitration and seek a setting where his behavior is not known, and be accepted there.

Second, assuming that someday his new Tséligato is informed of his conduct, there is a good chance that meanwhile he has been able to develop sufficiently close and honorable relationships with the "others" so that his unfortunate past will no longer be taken into consideration. Moreover, the absence of his adversaries permits him to give his own version of events in order to justify himself.

Now it is obvious that between the possibility of the application of envisioned punishment (which is relative) and an obedience to arbiters which is absolute (the person concerned "does not even think of disobeying") there is a discrepancy. It is difficult for us to assume that a "relative" conditioning can determine absolute effects. This shows that, in the

/212 cont./
696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627 Mauss. (27)
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[171] 27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
[114] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
598 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an
economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[494] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato
these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation
and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned,
there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of
the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource
to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

627 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

627 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
626 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
696 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual
recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/213 cont./

627 Two points or view converge: microsociological and macrosociological
692 influences and pressures, on the one hand; a molding of the personality,
626 on the other. It is this double determinancy, "the internal and external
696 causality" in the apt phrase of R. Bastide, (29) that is at the base of the phenomena of obedience to arbiters, which would otherwise be inexplicable.

/214/ It matters little whether this drama is explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious. The important fact is that it exists and is effective, as is shown by the infinitesimal number of cases of isolation. (30)

(29) R. Bastide: La causalité externe and la causalité interne, vol. XXI, C.I.d.S., pp. 77-79.

(113) (30) All these methodological as well as ontological statements are drawn from the present state of research in the social sciences, which has led G. Gurvitch to speak of "total psychological phenomena" (Traité, vol. II, pp. 333-338). Unfortunately this concept is still insufficiently developed; it is drawn from many different works among which we cite the following: M. Dufrenne: La personalité de base.--R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse.--C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale.--H. Wallon: Les origines du caractère chez l'enfant.--R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations.--R. Linton: The Science of man /cited in English/ and Les fondements culturels de la personnelité.--A. Kardiner: The individual and his society /cited in English/.--T. M. Newcomb: Social Psychology/cited in English/.--O. Klineberg: Psychologie sociale.--A. Kroeber: Anthropology today/cited in English/.--G. Gillin: For a science of social man/cited in English/, etc.

* * * *

626 But before we proceed further, certain questions arise: this
627 mechanism of imposing certain rules of behavior, in what way does it
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/214 cont./

626 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple dis-
627 paragement?" (31)
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31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: *La responsibilité*, p. 12.

Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

* * * *

627 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that
692 disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck
671 by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem
182 to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

/215 cont./
181 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving
671 actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential con-
182 flicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and /one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

* * * *

627 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by
686 also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to
689 the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal, and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

/216 cont./
627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head,
we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

627 After this general survey we may conclude:

692 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
182 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
626 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of
their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on
the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their
own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when
they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

673 CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

674 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or
misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which
they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

/217 cont./

682 to show the difference between them.

Thus, one who kills or wounds an opponent in the course of an open fight on equal terms (the Sarakatsani say "as is suitable for courageous
682 men") is not prosecuted. However, if the victim is killed or wounded in
627 an unexpected attack, the murderer is exposed to blood vengeance. "the
628 blood of the dead one must be paid with blood," the Sarakatsani say.

It seems that if homicide in an open stuggle is not punished it is because the victim has had the means to defend himself--a conception similar to the one which justifies the duel.

As for blood vengeance, its justification resides in definite social realities arising from family structure and the social life of the Sarakatsani in general.

Vengeance demands that the murderer be killed by the kinsmen of his victim. Yet the matter is not considered closed by the punishment of the guilty one. For the kinsmen of the latter must retaliate with other murders. Thus a vicious circle, that of the "vendetta," which may go on for years with many deaths on both sides is entered. It really seems that while the Sarakatsani proclaim respect for life, they forget this rule when faced with homicide, and thereupon act in a contrary manner. This is an apparently contradictory situation which may lead one to question the actual existence of this rule.

In order to understand this phenomenon it is suitable to cite two very significant cases of vendetta:

627 --Before the last world war a vendetta between two important
628 lineages from Tchepélovo in Epirus, the Tzoumanis and the Koumbis, lasted
613 several years and claimed eleven victims. In view of this situation which
[581] seemed insoluable, the head, N. Tzoumanis, had the sagacity to arrange a marriage between one of his nieces and a Koumbis son. The vendetta ended forthwith.

682
627 --A young man from the region of Pélasghia (Stérea Hellas) recently

/217 cont./

682 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of
627 Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his
sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

[628] It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the
[602] vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is
627 not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Other-
628 wise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be
182 ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law.
Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed
682 out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies,
627 that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by
628 enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members,
182 the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the
culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta
682 mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave
627 one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals,
581 by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively.
182 They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of
vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

/218 cont./

627 682 33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

[602] [581] Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the pro- [182] hibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn 627 that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding 628 682 at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity 182 to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the [562] young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

837 181 Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual 577 relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations
are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
627 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

[171] Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which
we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
[684] acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man
is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously
not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having
ruined her.

[626] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them,
are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
562
626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the
victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
684 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.

[674] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[673] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the
shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit hemself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark
of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:

783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/221 cont./
685 responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be
577 absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout
783 among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the
[784] same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in
punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack
685 of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the
577 destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through
825 it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the
[674] [779] Church of the wax that the bees could produce.

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits
685 our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice
577 and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property
[625] and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

[555] Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when
[783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

/222 cont./

685 Trespassing on their pastures.

The Sarakatsani use force, often armed, to repulse all those who try to trespass on the pastures they have leased.

It is concern for the defense of their interests, indeed their means of subsistence, that prompts them to react in this way; futhermore, they have no other means. Since the danger is to the group, they must face it as a group, the young men constituting the striking force.

683 Calumny and defamation.

626 Those who commit this misdemeanor incur public contempt. Moreover, a man who lets himself be influenced by women's gossip likewise becomes an object of derision.

This contempt is not only constraint of a moral order, but a veritable punishment because it has the same effect as the social disapproval of recalcitrants. We have described the efficacy nature of that sanction in connection with arbitration.

* * * *

671 There remains for us to systematize all the foregoing findings before closing this chapter.

/223/ SYSTEMATIC AND CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SARAKATSANI LAW

The sources of Sarakatsani law are custom, equity and common sense. However: first, though some customs are exclusively legal and therefore identifiable as such, there are others that are polyvalent, whose legal aspects intermingles with other aspects; second, common sense and equity are results whose components derive at one and the same time from legal, moral, religious, mythical or rational judgments--in short, from the entire Sarakatsani cultural system which, at that moment, assumes a legal qualifications and functions. (34)

(113) 34. Similar reflections are to be found in several works, for example Sir. P. Vinogradoff: Custom and Right /cited in English/, p. 21.--René Hubert: Science du Droit, p. 51.--M. Radin: La censure des coutumes , p. 90-91.--J. Poirier:

/223 cont./

671 [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.-- P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f., etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

[596] Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] [596] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

[474] [596] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] [596] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

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35. Ibid., p. 45.

/224 cont./

671 596 594 474 692 These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

/225 cont./

681 Among the Sarakatsani, sanctions and coercion, always social, can only exceptionally be organized (groups when they impose isolation, individuals according to the instances enumerated), since, ordinarily, there are no special agents or coercion. They /i.e. sanction and coercion/ are either provided for (customs) or spontaneous, and they are only exceptionally imposed directly by physical force, the case of sanction of crimes and misdemeanors constituting a peculiarity which we must consider separately.

But there is more. Though sanction is the result of an infraction and strikes the one who has committed it, though coercion is a function that assures the application of sanction, though, finally, both sanction and coercion always go together in evolved societies, coercion never being thought of independently from sanction, among the Sarakatsani coercion may intervene and act without any sanction having been formulated beforehand. Its aim, in
671 that case, is no longer the application of the sanction, but direct applica-
681 tion of the rules of law. It is a little as though in our societies the police directly required citizens to conform to the rules of law without their first having passed through the channel of adjudication, of sentence and of sanction. As a result, and we must emphasize this very specifically, the sanctions listed are directed more toward prevention than toward repression.

Sarakatsani society prefers to protect itself in advance of any disorder by an appropriate and preventive maintenance of its law, rather than having to put right explosive and dangerous situations. However, when despite all, the latter flair up, Sarakatsani society does not hesitate to suppress them by resorting to sanctions of a penal order, physically inflicted. These sanctions are strictly applied, depending on the nature of the disturbance.

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/226/ We should now like to draw attention to the fact that sanction and coercion are most often disguised in Sarakatsani law.

This phenomenon, represents one of the chief characteristics of Sarakatsani society. Quite apart from its importance in the life of the society, we believe that it can in addition contribute considerably to the theoretical

/226 cont./

671 681 and anthropological approach to laws other than those with which our advanced societies are familiar.

121 671 This phenomenon is not entirely unknown to theorists. But if some of them have had an inkling of it, no one, to our knowledge, has treated it in clear terms. (36)

> 36. We have mentioned some of these authors in connection with some definite point. We shall take up their theories in their broad aspects, our previous remarks being an integral part of what follows.

In order to introduce the discussion, it will be well to start with certain comments on the famous work of B. Malinowski: Crime and Custom in Savage Society /cited in English/ (37)

(128)

> 37. Our questions refer to a French translation included in: Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, to which our quotations refer.

(1926). The publication of this work, in addition to the influence that it has subsequently had on the anthropological theory of law, has made it possible to state the problem correctly.

What Malinowski does is to protest against the interpretations dominated by the ideas of L. Morgan--those of "Bachofen, of Post, of Bernoft, of Konler and others who were grouped around the periodical Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft" (p. 10), those which are found again "in the works of the French school of Durkheim, in most American and German works and in some English works" (p. 11). "Basic to all these ideas," he says, "was the postulate that in primitive societies the individual is totally dominated by the group, the horde, the clan or the tribe, that he obeys the commands of his community...with servile passivity, so to speak, bewitched" (p. 11).

He also protests against E. Sidney Hartland and Dr. Rivers, cited above, who speak of an "unconscious and intuitive regulation of social life...

/226 cont./

121 closely bound up with primitive communism" (p. 14), and against Hobhouse who
671 states that "if we understand by legislation a totality of rules imposed by an authority to which one is not bound by personal ties of /227/ kinship or friendship, we are obliged to state that such an institution is incompatable with the social organization of savages" (*Morals ih Evolution*/ cited in English/, 1915, p. 73, quoted by Malinowski, *ibid*., p. 15). And Malinowski asks himself: "Is there not, at least as far as certain rules are concerned, a mechanism of constraint, perhaps not imposed by an external authority but based on actual motives and interests and on complex feeling?" (p. 15). And a little farther on he adds: "The extreme difficulty of the problem is due... to the very complex and diffuse character of the forces that constitute primitive law" (p. 17).

Malinowski believes that he finds the solution of this problem in the "principle of reciprocity," the "principle of *do ut des* /I give so that you may give/ which plays a dominant role in tribal life" (p. 82). For him, "the rights of the chief over ordinary people, those of the husband over his wife or of parents over their children are not exerted arbitrarily and in a unilateral fashion, but in conformity with clearly defined rules and *are made up of successions of strictly reciprocated services*" (p. 37--italics mine). This is all the more true of exchanges of an economic order, called "kula" (p. 24). The whole rests on the symmetry of structure which "constitutes the indispensable basis of all savage society" (p. 24). If the individual conforms absolutely to this "give and take" which extends throughout all social life, recompense awaits him at the end in the form of economic benefits or the augmentation of his prestige. If he does not conform to it "it will not be long before he is banished from social and economic life and he knows this perfectly well" (p. 34). In sum, the "civil" laws, the positive laws which govern all phases of tribal life are therefore made up of a totality of dominant obligations, considered as rights by one party, as duties by the other, rigorously maintained by a specific mechanism of reciprocity and publicity

/227 cont./

121 671 inherent in the very structure of society... Their efficacy has its source in the rational appreciation of cause and effect by the natives, as well as in a certain number of personal and social feelings, such as ambition, vanity, pride, the desire to make the most of oneself by displaying one's talents, and also attachment, friendship, devotion and loyalty towards relatives...Legality represents one aspect of tribal life, one side of its structure rather than a totality of /228/ independent arrangement, a mechanism existing by itself...Legislation is a specific result of combinations which affect obligations, this combination making it impossible for the native to evade his responsibility without having to suffer the consequences" (p. 45). And Malinowski concludes his analysis with "an anticipation": "Research will one day discover almost everywhere that reciprocity, systematic influence, publicity and ambition are the principal factors which, in primitive legislation, impose obedience to its rules and prescriptions" (p. 51).

It is precisely this "anticipation" combined with the general interest in Malinowski's theory which has obliged us to dwell so long on this author.

We shall not comment on his idea of absolutely symmetrical organization and the dual structure of "savage" societies, the central axis of the whole system, on which contemporary anthropology has not spoken the final word. (38) Nor shall we deny that a network of reciprocities exists in all societies, both archaic and modern, and that constraints which spring from them, especially since we have acknowledged them among the Sarakatsani in almost identical terms as those of Malinowski. Finally, we are absolutely convinced of the fact that individuals have personal obligations and responsibilities which they try to evade. However, reciprocity and constraint aside, we believe that there remains a gap which entities such as "vanity, pride, ambition, desire to make the most of oneself, attachment, friendship, devotion, loyalty, etc.", proposed by Malinowski, do not fill.

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38. See C. Lévi-Strauss: *Anthropologie structurale*, chapter VIII, where the author asks: "Do dual structures exist?"

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671 If we address ourselves to these entities we run two risks: first, to confuse legal life with moral life in the sense that to conform to the entities enumerated means to obey certain social values sanctioned by general approval. It does not escape us that this approval implies a utilitarian aspect of which we shall speak in the next chapter. But this approval is not sufficient to insure absolute obedience by the persons concerned. Non-conformism represents "minor" dangers--the individual often is content with a minimum of consideration /229/ on the part of society.

Moreover, from the methodological point of view it appears that if one accepts this interpretation, one leaves the sociological field in favor of a psychologism limiting itself to "motivations" (a reality which only very partially explains our problem).

The second risk is based on the "motivations" in question. Ambition, pride, vanity, attachment, friendship, devotion, etc., are driving powers which can operate in two ways. They can uphold law, but they can also turn against it. For these motives, vanity for example or pride, have the power to launch conflicts and disagreements, sometimes very acute, between individuals and groups, and other individuals or other groups motivated by attachment, loyalty or friendship toward the interested parties may continue them and in doing so aggravate them and render them disastrous. Malinowski does not tell us why vanity and pride would be dominated by law and justice and not personal by self-esteem or egoism, nor why the authority of law would prevail over rebellious individualism. There is a point here which shows very well that psychology explains nothing if it is not used within concrete categories and framework.

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681 This is why we believe that if we assume the mechanism of sanction and disguised coercion, we thereafter understand how individuals and groups obey law; we avoid confusion with morals and the introduction of extraneous psychological criteria into the true life of law. As a result, we base the latter on objective reality, the pressure that the "social milieu" exerts

/229 cont./

121 to force interested parties to obey; finally, we fill the gaps left by the
67] acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, while reinforcing its effective-
68] ness where it exists.

Remarks of a similar order may be made with respect to certain theories that follow the same line as the ideas of Malinowski. This is the case with P. Esmein, (39) who also quotes Hogbin, (40)

39. Le droit et ses sources, p. 6-7.

40. Le droit et l'ordre en Polynésie (in English).

with Lowie, (41) with Van Vollenhoven who, in the second volume of his work

41. Traité, p. 389.

Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indië, (42) /the custom law of the Dutch Indies/

[128] 42. The Dutch being inaccessible to us, we refer here to Josselin de Jong's discussion of this author, published in his study which we quote later on.

1918 /230/ (pp. 236 and 400) published after the appearance of Malinowski's book, modified the thesis proposed in his first volume, according to which law is made up of rules of behavior that are not codified and are accompanied by organized sanctions. His new thesis involves a double criterion, the mutual interaction of two customs: on the one hand, commendation and disapproval, and on the other-- intimately bound to the former--imperatives or prohibitions in the heart of the collective conscience and conduct. According to Josselin de Jong's interpretation, Van Vollenhoven did not give up the criterion of organized sanction but, under the influence of Malinowski, he enriched it.
121 Thus the field of customary law is enlarged, but its boundaries remain un-
67] certain. This observation by Josselin de Jong shows very well the weakness
[114] of this theory, which its author tries to overcome, without success. Furthermore, Van Vollenhoven does not tell us how and by what mechanism disapprovals and commendations are linked to the collectivity, so that no distinction can be made between opinion and morals on the one hand, and law on the other.

Thus J.- P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Customary Law /cited in English/, pp.

/230 cont./
121 3-7, aware of the confusion caused by the comparison of customary law with
671 the totality of customs, as well as by the absence of a definition of law
strict enough to separate custom in general from our observations, and
sufficiently broad to include the entire gamut of manifestations of the
principle of legality, proposes eliminating the term "customary law."
For, according to him, the difference between customary law and custom is
(681) one of form and not content. Thus, the authority of law is based on the
conviction that its existence is necessary and is based on the threat of
sanctions.

121 If we understand this author's[4] idea correctly, it seems to us that,
671 despite his effort to dispel the confusion, his positions only aggravate it.
681 The moment he finds that the source of the authority of law lies not in
114 sanction, a social reality and an objective and positive criterion, but in
the feeling that it is useful, hence a psychological reality, the distinction
between legal customs and other customs becomes impossible. Hence it is
equally impossible to formulate a definition applicable to all manifestations
of legality. For all the customary norms of behavior can be regarded as
necessary, so that we are reduced to identifying custom in general with
law, that is to say, /231/ to a repetition of the errors that we mean to
combat. If we follow this author who, conscious of this risk, proposes to
abolish the idea of customary law, we are left with no hope of an approach to
non-evolved laws. Furthermore, the distinction between customary law and
custom is not a distinction of form, but of nature. It seems to us that
Josselin de Jong proposes the opposite, enticed by the fact that very often
the same custom has two aspects, two potentials: one as a model of behavior,
the other as a legal norm. The latter becomes real when sanction comes to
its aid in seeking to enforce it. And at that moment, custom becomes purely
legal and obviously acquires all the attributes of a law. If it does not
appeal to sanction but if, at the moment it becomes reality, it imposes itself
through other means, it presents the attributes of a model or behavior.
These two situations are profoundly different. The difference is the same

4. /i.e., J.-P.B. de Josselin de Jong--Analyst/

/231 cont./

121 one that may be established between the moral imperative to respect the
671 life of another and the rule of the penal code forbidding homicide. The
681 content of the two commandments is the same, but their nature is different.
114 This is exactly what Malinowski said when he stated that legality is more
an aspect of tribal life than an independent arrangement.

Finally, if Josselin de Jong had sought to discover the real sanction associated with non-evolved laws, he would have avoided these slippery trails and would have entered the path leading to the definition of customary law.

121 We should now like to consider another theory which, like that of
671 Van Vollenhoven, also addresses itself to public opinion. It is Hoebel's
208 theory in The Law of Primitive Man /cited in English/. According to it,
in case of a claim for damages or the restitution of stolen goods, or even punishment of the perpetrator of an illicit act, if the person responsible admits his responsibility and if public opinion expresses itself in favor of the plaintiff, this public opinion then represents a tribunal and the whole process takes on a legal character (p. 25). Hoebel adds: "Primitive law is characterized by the fact that the plaintiff, in demanding his right, seeks to satisfy both his own interest and the interest of society in general. Furthermore, primitive law shows a certain regularity" (p. 28). /English quotation not found on designated page/.

121 Hoebel here draws quite close to the problem but /232/ does not get to
114 the heart of it. He individualizes laws and obligations, is aware of the
671 role of the group in the resolution of states of conflict, but he does not
208 tell us by what process "public opinion " is enforced. Therein lies the
weakness of his theory. As we have shown elsewhere, sanction and disguised coercion differentiate absolutely between public opinion and what we have called the "sentence arising from a group." Public opinion expresses an attitude of the group with regard to a dispute. When this opinion is dominated by the idea of justice and when it is armed with means of sanction and coercion, even if it is not apparent, it represents a true sentence.

/232 cont./

121 114 671 Furthermore, Hoebel's idea concerning the regularity of primitive law is only partially true. One cannot expect regularity in only cases where one has to judge according to a spontaneous law based on equity, good sense and "ad hoc". If one accepts the position of Hoebel, one must exclude all these instances of juridical life.

121 671 We shall conclude these critical remarks by examining another category of theories which base non-evolved law on its relations either to the totality of social regulations or to morality.

121 671 681 Radcliffe-Brown, in his book Structure and Function in Primitive Society /cited in English/, and in agreement with R. Pound, notes first that law is part of social control, but is not identified with it. "The field of law," he states, "will therefore be regarded as coterminus with that of organized legal sanctions. The obligations imposed on individuals in societies where there are legal sanctions will be regarded as matters of custom and convention but not of law; in this sense, some simple societies do not have law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions" (p. 212).

Thus we come back to the formalistic conception of law: law is every rule accompanied by legal sanction and legal sanction is every sanction imposed "by a constituted authority, political, military or ecclesiastic" (p. 208).

Let us try now to see where the assertions of this author may lead. We take as an example "the negative organized sanctions" which, according to him, represent social reactions, social acts directed against persons open to social disapproval because of their behavior, and which /233/ are carried out according to traditional and recognized procedures. These acts consist of the exposure of the culprit in public, his total or partial exclusion from social life and the privileges that derive from it, the loss of his civil or religious rights or of his social rank. In addition to all this, one also finds confiscation of goods, or the infliction of corporal punishment--mutilation, flagellation, even capital punishment.

Now if one excludes law as the justification for these acts, for this punishment, what remains? Our author proposes morality and religion and

/233 cont./

121 above all the mechanism of social control (p. 208). But morality and
671 religion can play this role only partially, as Radcliffe-Brown himself
681 recognized albeit indirectly because, on the one hand, morality is not
imposed by force without a change in their nature, and, on the other
hand, punishible acts are not all related to religion. Finally, social
[626] control is a very general function which involves several others and is
therefore incapable of explaining this specific phenomenon.

Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown proposes that when sanctions are taken by
individuals or groups against individuals and groups (vengeance, duel,
blood revenge, etc.), under the control and with the approval of society,
diffuse sanctions "of public opinion" /cited in English/ are involved.
[114] This conclusion does not take us unawares. Since our author denies the
legal character of the terrible sanctions enumerated above, applied
collectively and according to a procedure determined in advance, it is
natural that he should deny this character to these additional, more
individualized sanctions.

[208] We have shown, moreover, that public opinion is not able to impose
[626] sanctions exceeding disapproval.

121 The question therefore remains open. We believe that the perspective
671 offered by our own position makes it possible to avoid the confusion of
law with other social regulations and to avoid the paradoxical idea that
societies can live without law when they do not have a specific judicial
apparatus.

Marcel Mauss, for his part (chapter VII of his Manual), says: "In societies that ethnography singles out all legal phenomena are moral phenomena, without exception; which does not mean that all moral phenomena are necessarily legal in the strict sense" (p. 110). It remains to be seen how one can distinguish law from morality. /234/ "Legal phenomena," says Mauss, "are organized moral phenomena (p. 111)...We know the presence of morality and religion only from the presence of infraction and the idea of sanction. There is moral obligation...when there is diffuse sanction;

/234 cont./
121 there is legal obligation when there is a precise definition of obli-
671 gation and a precise definition of infliction and for punishment... Obligation is simply more rigid and more legal in the case of law" (p. 112). That is not all. Mauss proposes still another criterion. "All laws are considered good by definition; then again, conformity to laws is good; it is necessary to social life. Everything that is in conformity is good, everything that is antagonistic to this conformism is bad. One would therefore recognize the moral and legal phenomenon by the presence of the idea of good and bad, previously defined and always sanctioned" (p. 112).

121 Now for Mauss the distinguishing criteria of law are three in number:
67 precisely defined obligation; precisely defined infliction /of penalty/
681 and punishment, hence sanction; authority based on the good, including the value of conformity to rules. These ideas are not unknown to us. We have criticized them in the foregoing. Let us recall that up to a certain point we share them. However, we see ourselves obliged to remark that if one contrasts diffuse sanction appropriate to moral phenomena with definite sanction, fixed and organized, as appropriate to law, one leaves out manifestly legal phenomena such as obedience to arbiters which appears not to be enforced by sanctions and, what is worse, one risks linking these phenomena to morality. This is the case for example, for G. Gurvitch, when he gives priority to morality over law in patriarchal societies. But we shall speak of this in the next chapter.

We should like to conclude this theoretical test by pointing out that if we introduce into the arsenal of the theory of law the idea of disguised sanction and coercion we shall be equipped with a new, very effective criterion which permits us to follow paths that have hitherto been inaccessible.

It does not escape us that our argument is based only on one example and that consequently, before being more fully accepted, it must be tested in other social contexts.

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121 /235/ Nevertheless, testing it against the experience of the authors
671 enumerated seems to reinforce the hope that disguised sanction and coercion
681 also exist elsewhere, and that in any case it represents a good working hypothesis.

* * * *

121 Be that as it may, the solution of disguised sanction and coercion
671 fits well into the Sarakatsani way of life. It would be difficult to
681 imagine any other way. Faced with the dilemma of either not having
182 organized justice (in view of the difficulties of living in small groups and nomadically), or of having one that is ineffective for lack of organization to maintain it, Sarakatsani society has chosen the solution described which meets the demands of the problem. It assures and guarantees the functioning of the social organization and it enforces order without burdening the organization of the group. Therefore the fit between this solution and the social framework seems perfect.

FINAL EVALUATION

671 Customary law, spontaneous law, structureless and disguised law, these are the aspects under which Sarakatsani law presents itself.

676 Issuing from collective sources, this law is also imposed by group agents which are the same as these sources, even in cases where ajudication and its execution are confined to individuals--representatives of the group which recognizes their perogatives, functions and efficacy.

Though intimately bound up with other social regulations, it retains its autonomy. And though exposed to the influence of magico-religious beliefs, above all when it is spontaneous, it clearly keeps its rational character.

Without abolishing the rights and responsibilities of individuals, it favors groups and cooperation, and disfavors individualism. Individual rights exist only when they are compatable with the "group" and in sympathy with the latter (43) --the "invisible government" according to the expression

/235 cont./
671 of P. Radin. (44)

44. P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, p. 221 f.

671 /236/ Its sanctions guarantee its functions, at once distributive,
681 preventive, restitutive, repressive. They are not taken from the law
182 of retaliation, as the instance of the vendetta particularly demonstrates.
[627] They are based on the idea of the defense of the social equilibrium or
its reestablishment if it is temporarily disrupted.

Thanks to the mechanism of disguised coercion, it acquires, citing the expression of Mauss, (45)

45. Manuel, p. 110.

a character of strongly felt intimacy and community, for it can become involved at any moment in the smallest details of the life of our herders.

671 Seemingly simple, if not simplistic, but basically very complex,
182 Sarakatsani law meets the need for social control with extreme efficacy,
which one would not dispute if one looked closely at its social context. For the dynamics of Sarakatsani law, transmitted in the social framework to a large extent give it its stability.

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CHAPTER IV

577
MORAL PHENOMENA AND MORALITY AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

121 Morality among the Sarakatsani is neither systematized nor doctrinal.
It is bound up with many aspects of their lives, in symbols, attitudes, conduct, habits, customs, language, cultural works, all of which serve as its vehicles. (1)

1. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Sarakatsani alone. See A. Bayet: La science des faits moeurs, p. 17.

In attempting to recognize it and make it clear, the problem of an operational criterion of procedure arises. "In order to observe the moral phenomenon, one must also know what characterizes it, by what distinctive mark it can be recognized," Durkheim (2)

/237 cont./

577
121 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f.

said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward

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831 elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection
831 [888] that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that
[609] requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

[535] As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs
621 to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation
577 on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is
[609] [574] obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

577 As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has
been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation,
it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with
577 patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and
579 friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day
[576] become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

[648] This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to
577 banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might
579 recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

114 648 [113] 4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts
577 579 it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

577 579 /239 cont./

5. This opinion is also shared by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 61 f. who, referring to some cases of banditry by the Sarakatsani, is largely generalizing. There are evil-doers everywhere. must agree that they are an exception. Their morality positively excludes it.

577 Having identified their principal values, we now understand that almost all of Sarakatsani life is imbued with morality and that it is almost always present, as is proper to types of social life that have not yet been depersonalized, but are based on direct, non-mechanical relations and have preserved their entire human depth.

* * * *

Nevertheless, the aspect of moral life that we have just examined does not determine solely and in the final analysis what one must do in daily life, but also what one ought to become, the moral qualities that each Sarakatsani must acquire and with which he must build up his own personality. The values described suggest a model that each man, woman and child must follow and carry out by conforming to it as much as possible. The components of this model we already know, but in different contexts. We must therefore try to synthesize them in a few words and into a coherent picture, despite the risk of repetition.

The Sarakatsani must be temperate, chaste and reserved in his acts, his manners, his language; respectful of the social hierarchy and the discipline prescribed in the rules by which his social life functions; dilligent in the obligations and the exercise of rights related to his role and his social status; he must conform to the prescriptions of tradition to the point of rigidity.

In particular, in order to measure up to his duties, the head of a family or of the Tséligato must show prudence and foresight, action and application in the management of common interests. /240/ As administrator he must show competence, generosity and justice; and as manager and as a

/240 cont./

577 "link with the outside," experience, skill and "sociability" are demanded of him.

As for the groups or group-agents of morality, they are expected to show a restraint in their behavior clearly similar to that indicated for individuals.

* * * *

577 181 The chief observation that may be made on the basis of these cursory statements on the values and moral qualities of the Sarakatsani is that their morality is highly social, and that for two reasons: first, because they spring from collective ideas; second, because they aim essentially at "the common good."

On the first point no comment is necessary in view of the sole and supreme authority of tradition--a collective entity--over values and moral qualitites.

As for the second point, one need only consider each of the fundamental values, their content and objective, in order to be convinced that they correspond only to collective needs and assumptions.

If individuals benefit and if they develop their moral personalities from these values that is merely a parallel consequence. They perfect themselves morally by practicing morality. (6)

> 6. An analogous assertion is found in Fr. Rauh: L'expérience morale, p. 71, who, citing the formula or Renouvier "to do and by doing become" applied to science, notes that it is also true of morals.

577 182 However, Sarakatsani morality does not aim directly at the moral elevation of individuals. It is concerned chiefly with controlling Sarakatsani society within the limits of its possibilities with moving it toward structuralization.

The functional correlations between this morality, on the one hand, and the family framework, the socio-economic organization and conditions of

/240 cont./

577 (182) Sarakatsani life, on the other, thus appear clearly--the first depending on the second and the second finding considerable support in the first.

* * * *

/241/ These reflections open the way to the study of another problem, that of the process through which morality actually controls the life of individuals and groups.

(867) Observation shows that their morality is strong. It is the result, first of all, of the moral education of individuals, which commences at a tender age and is carried out chiefly by the extended family, as we know. Next, come the example and the putting forward by society of what G. Gurvitch calls "ideal symbolic images," (7) which hold a special attraction for men and which correspond to models presented by a good headman, a good father and mother, a good shepherd, a brave Sarakatsani, etc., or by a truly communal family, by the perfect Tseligato--goals toward which every human act must constantly lead. But there is more. (626) It is the mechanism of approbation or of censure proper to morality which is supported by the direct control of behavior (particularly intense in groups such as this whose range is limited) and which expresses itself in valuation of concrete behavior, presupposing the idea of "honor" as the Saraktsani conceive it.

This particular point merits attention. For it is through the idea of honor and the conditions according to which "a man is honorable or not" that one can: 1st, show the margin that Sarakatsani society leaves to individuals to exercise choice in favor of this or that orientation of their action (which constitutes the essence of the moral phenomenon); 2nd, determine the line of demarcation separating morality from law; 3rd, discover the hierarchical relationship of these two types of social regulation in relation to one another.

7. See G. Gurvitch: "Sociologie de la vie morale" in Traité vol. II, p. 152.

/241 cont./

577 Now the idea of "honor" depends upon the moral requirements that Saraktsani society imposes on its members. These may be grouped under two headings: minor moral requirements and major moral requirements.

Under the heading "minor requirements" we include every case in which a comparative conformity of individuals or groups to rules, norms, moral 577 propositions, etc., is tolerated. In all these instances the persons 156 involved may conform to norms closely or less closely without dishonor. If a person /242/ succeeds only more or less in embodying the ideal symbolic image presented to each according to his condition, his status, his role, if a person does not succeed in reaching perfection in commercial, economic, or administrative skill (8) (provided he is not a Tséligas), if he is not capable of becoming a "rebel leader" or an "animal thief," etc., he is not dishonored, but merely not honored, not distinguished in the crowd. On the other hand, a person is dishonored if he makes no effort to practice "comparative" conformity, if he does not embody this "moral minimum," in other words, if he falls into complete amorality. Sarakatsani society has no room for amorality.

Dishonor also falls on the one who goes outside the fundamental rules of Saraktsani life. These are the major moral requirements that no one, under any pretext, has the right to transgress. Individuals and groups are inevitably dishonored if they do not conform to the rules pertaining to the creation and functioning of the family, the rules of chastity, of solidarity, of upholding tradition, etc. In all these instances such persons are exposed to general contempt.

However, the one who comes as close as possible tothe ideal symbolic image corresponding to the situation and who conforms strictly to the major moral requirements is honored by all.

8. Underneath these attributes one finds a "morality of usefulness" according to the terminology of G. Gurvitch, the existence of which is attested by a consideration of the honor those enjoy who achieve it: Ibid., p. 149.

/242 cont./

577 The Sarakatsani may therefore take his choice between non-distinction, dishonor and honor. These are the limits within which he may deploy his moral activity.

577 156 These alternatives have their justification in the risks that one runs socially by the choice one makes. By choosing non-distinction the subject injures only himself. By opting for infamy (though this may seem paradoxical), that is to say, by violating fundamental rules or denying the "minimum morality," the individual or the group endanger the collectivity which then would react against them with severity. By prefering honor one becomes a pillar of social life, for, thanks to the conduct and example one offers to all, one contributes to its solidity. Honor is the reward to those who have embodied Sarakatsani morality. They become "morality in person."

577 671 681 /243/ As for the line of demarcation separating morality from law, the foregoing remarks show that the major requirements constitute the common threshold. It is in terms of the importance of the infraction committed, therefore the importance of the risks run by non-conformity, that the foregoing passage, analyzed from the standpoint of legal reactions will be understood, and that the mechanism of sanction and coercion is activated. [626) Thus, the major moral requirements and law may intermingle, the difference residing in the concrete fact of the intensity of social repression: either society is content simply to scorn the culprit or it decides to react more violently.

577 626 671 It follows that morality, as social control, occupies a prominent place among the Sarakatsani, though it cannot be placed above the law. Despite its rigidity, especially with reference to major requirements, it comes after law, though it complements and aids the latter by its own prestige.

577 181 671 The regulation of the actions of these herders, tough, intrepid, independent human beings, true fighters ceaselessly striving to conquer innumerable difficulties and obstacles, requires means more powerful than morals, hence

/243 cont./

577 (181) (671) [114] law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality
of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social
regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc.,
and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor
[182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in
a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as
an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

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PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1) could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

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128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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CHAPTER I

SARAKATSANI MAGIC

123 The path to the study of magic is barred by numerous obstacles.

609 First the terminology. Our herders designate by the term "magic"
789 everything that pertains to black magic, the magic of charms and spells.
754 For them white magic, curative, indissolubly connected with everyday life,
755 does not deserve this name.

Next, the curative ritual is hidden in the shadow of the secret and mysterious, for fear that its communication, especially to a stranger, would desecrate it and make all manipulation ineffective. Similarly, and all the more so, discussions about black magic are forbidden in order to avoid attracting the evil, the mere mention of which might provoke it.

In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

123 All we can do is merely to record some scraps of information and con-
124 versations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

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123 124 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions to the verification of informants who have proved both the most reliable and the most accessible.

121 A methodological principle has been of great use to us during this work. The practices and beliefs of a coherent society must form an equally coherent whole, without internal contradictions. If, in reconstructing them, one does not succeed in integrating them into a system, one can be certain, or nearly so, that the approach followed has failed. One must then begin again /248/ from other hypotheses. Of course it is necessary to allow for deviations insofar as special reasons require.

Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

128 The present chapter is divided into three parts: the first deals with "The magical practices of the Sarakatsani and their historical and cultural origins." It focuses on the subjects to which the practices refer. The second is concerned with the analysis of "the magic thinking of the Sarakatsani." The third deals with the "social functions of Sarakatsani magic."

121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 842 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

/248 cont./

121 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed
842 toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with
[233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals
But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same,
we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed
according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must
262 abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter
(825) being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large
it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her
fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep
754 his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of
his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his
impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly
825 married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell
789 on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,
233 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to
825 provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above
789 all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the
"evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the
negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears
[531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

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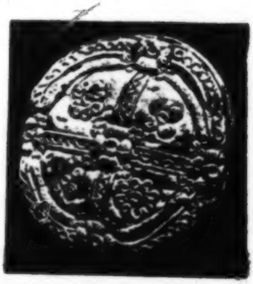

Fig. 100

842 531 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87).^A The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph. [262] [585]

844 602 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices. The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk. [783]

A. /See p.119--Analyst/

/250 cont./

844 602 animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

(114) 3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible] .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [775] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 [789] Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

[825] [128] If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821
823 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
(372) virtues.
(825) /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
(531) of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
(262) on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
(585) Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
(844) come from contact with the earth. (9)
(776)

9. See B. Nyberg: *Kind und Erde*, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: *Ibid.*, p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: *Riflessi mediterranei* /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: *Stérilité*, p. 31 f.

(844) The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
(764) where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: *Ibid.*, p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: *La grande déesse*, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: *Ibid.*, p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: *La formation de la pensée grecque*, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: *Ibid.*, p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der* /sic--should be: *des*/ *Göttertranks*, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: *Antike Wald und Feldkulte*, p. 503.

372 /251 cont./
844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
842

14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol. I, p. 66 f.

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171 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis of the mystery of life itself, the Sarakatsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

(829) Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ : Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς λόγος, [789] 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Περὶ ἐμφ. προσώπου σελήνης, 28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

«ἄνοδος καὶ καταγώγια»,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά. T.B.
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the
dead.--According to the physician: ΣΩΡΑΝΟΣ: Περὶ γυναικείων,
p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--
c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child
on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the
muscles of the little one and its body will be strong,"
Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished
to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : [illegible] 15,
for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of
fire was considered efficacious against evil influences.
According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire
at the beginning of the year repre[illegible]e energy that reanimates
nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is
to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire,"
the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male,"
the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly,
in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά,
p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing
properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but
note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing
fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία ζῴων, ΙΙ, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 171 (831) character of a sexual symbol because of its connection with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc. According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις». M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἑρκεῖος Ζεύς». Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G. Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. (842) We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινῶν Βίος, t. VI, p. [illegible]

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : [illegible] Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Ibid., p. 243.

121 842 821 825 823 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. (776) Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
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776 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is personified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191) 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

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178 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

(191) 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

[illegible], 60, 39, [illegible] et [illegible], etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : [illegible], in : M. P. G., 138, 1 [illegible], etc.

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177 /254 cont./
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[171] In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in
[783] practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that
[844] evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period
[825] of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church
[842] before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period
(789) necessary for the celebration of forty services.

771 That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumer-
776 ated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her
178 unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt
177 expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

[171] 20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

842 Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote
776 fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the
771 Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding
177 ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some
178 of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

842 In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incor-
789 porated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

842 There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of con-
777 ception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several
[585] days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close
[833] by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 777 [585] [833] [171]

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Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 789 [824]

When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

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[171] 21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions. According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

[342] [824] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls. In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[527] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

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527 233 825 789 [574] [787] solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or or disastrous.

[796] The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

> (114) 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ρν') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 233 825 789 262 531 [114] On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)

> 25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, ~~shepherd~~ reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A, /See p.100--Analyst/

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 [262] vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.

[531] The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[527] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
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26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[776] 27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[771] 28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

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29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

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(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: Ἡ Βασιλόπιτα. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

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mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

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31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ. Ψευδολογιστής, 173. and even

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in Byzantium: Ἰωάννου ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

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Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776 These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

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32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth: ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Εὐμενίδες I, 214, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις .II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Δαίδαλος τῶν Πλαταιῶν, 6, but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine: ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆτες, Fragm. 475, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

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These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

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As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

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796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding
turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his
grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation
of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing
/which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

[124] 33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with
great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its
[831] sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali
796 gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I.
171 ρνη', Similar practices are found almost all over
536 Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί,
the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of
Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating
the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce
fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he
cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus,
Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros,
in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in
the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The
modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206
which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of
the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p.
321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes
Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis
of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival
of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound
796 up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
789 concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

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796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: *Ibid.*, A. I. [illegible]-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the
[128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described
182 shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the
831 sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,
this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

789 [842] [233] [171] 34. According to M. Nilsson: *Primitive Religion* /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: *Odyssey*, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., *Demeter* sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

796 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed
789 at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys
535 disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and
533 wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they
539 dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

796 /260 cont./

789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of this house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
776 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material
for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with
crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani,
a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water"
(vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
776 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married
couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that
we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the
fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

776 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
(821) referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
(825) pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./

796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
776 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[771] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother".
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
/533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796
178 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. [606] [609] The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani [273] [782]

[171] 38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

789 /263 cont./

> 585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
> (171) pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of
> immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions
> has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."

[273] [782] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
[823] Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh
as water."

789 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the
825 polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit
testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled
that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden
789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric
825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes
322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the
531 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).[A] It is certain that the handle of
233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself
283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to
mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif
on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on
the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The
snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal
economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is
agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence
abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental
activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the
Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance
777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the
236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy
Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

[A] /See p. 429--Analyst/

/263 cont./

777 236 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

> 39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] 777 221 Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

> 40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

> 41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 776 754 (789) All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, malevolent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused
with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they
harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as
the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble
practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the
flocks and exterminates them.

776 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes,
823 the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees,
the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows
/265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with
the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing
near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the
[828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have
776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small
821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust
and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular
[753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with
776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses,
753
824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under
a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)
776
[824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons.
[487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross-
[751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves
[263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with
[783]

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42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 /265 cont./

751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)

263 44. Because of its preservative properties which
783 analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification. Ἰουστίνου Μάρτυρος: Πρὸς Τρύφωνα, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and
windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
787 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these
were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger
with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[772] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side,"
or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)

772 411 48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans
[776] les poèmes homériques.

[171] Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the
demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our
herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary"
gesture. (49)

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief
[751] that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects
were given to children to amuse them, but equally to
protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote
4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other
categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A. I. p. ρμα'

[171] The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology
of shepherds throughout continental Greece.

776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with
the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack
is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood
of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims
begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/267 cont./

776 233 789 head of the animals. (51)

> 51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

> 52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: [illegible], p. [illegible], n. [illegible]

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock 783 233 789 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel, is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung. [411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

> 53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] [372] [823] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 /267 cont./
233
789
[372]
[823]
imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[171] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, Τ. Β', p. [illegible] et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men, it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatas: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι,

says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghana, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

/268 cont./
776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to
them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 [824] asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
[412] hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15),
that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force.
However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to
enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is
necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions
which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also
necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten
to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
(515) head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move
about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's
hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added
enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot.
This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
[251] had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in
its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari
had urinated on it.

776
789 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among

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[372] 56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

776 /269 cont./

[789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [753] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

> 57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the [789] mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 777 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

3: Kabbadias--305A E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/269 cont./

776 in a way that is inescapable. (58) The young Sarakatsani mother /270/

777 58. A belief that goes back to the farthest Hellenic antiquity. The *moires* spin one's destiny, Oddyssey, VI,

[171] 191, etc. Propitiatory offerings to the *moires* are generally carried out by the Greeks. See D. Loukatos: *Ibid.*, p. 8, who also cites the works of Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Παραδόσεις Α', p. [illegible], et Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, p. 36-37.

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[789] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p. ρξη΄.

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, super-
[753] natural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789
826 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
895 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a burned bit of the father's cloak.

/270 cont./

000 751 789 [237] burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.

[825] All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... vers 86 et 27. --Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ἐκ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀκολουθία καὶ Τάξις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξομ. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 974 789 [822] In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having warding-off properties; (62)

[302] [171] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye: Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 105 et commentaires de Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς λαογράφος, p. 684. — N. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 200 et suiv. — Ε. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θράκης, p. 60-62, etc.

844 /271 cont./
574 likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to
789 time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected
(783) to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes
/the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of
coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-
783 birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the
789 mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the
(788) nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite,
blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the
temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos
(842) of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into
the family.

751 The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter
789 Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will
(527) then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers
with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not
become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali:. Ibid., A.I. ρμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a
lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composi-
tion, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all
the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child
(237) (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at
all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross;
a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt
and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag
containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/
(shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in
gabbro.

/271 cont./

751
789
[237]

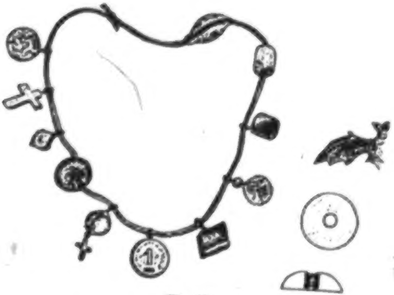

Fig. 101

/272 cont./

[237]
[824]
On another amulet we discovered, in addition to the objects enumerated above, a scapula of a tortoise and three shoots of thorny shrubs. And on another, instead of the cowrie, a crab's claw.

The symbolism of these objects is more or less known to us. Gospel, medal and cross (divine forces), salt, incense, thorny shrub and fairy weight (against supernatural beings and a means of dominating the fairies), cowrie and crab (aquatic beings, hence lunar, promoting fecundity), turtle (terrestrial force) superimposed and combined to the same end. The coin /273/ is a beneficent talisman and protector known since the late Middle Ages in Byzantium. (64) The amber ball has the same meaning, but was

64. At first, the coins struck by Alexander the Great were regarded as charms. Then, coins of Emperor Constantine the Great, which bore the cross. See B. Schmith: Der böse Blick, p. 602. --D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 15. Even today it is customary to offer coins of Constantine in connection with some occasions of "transition" (baptism, marriage).

/273 cont./

751 789 [237] [832] used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

[171] 66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: [illegible]

[178] It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 585 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning. [178] [785] First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches, aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

[776] And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

/273 cont./
789 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
585 take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks
[776] transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

> 68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody,
simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived,
descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[237] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the
partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

> 69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy
water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

> 70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

342 /274 cont./
789 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore
372 Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

(776) (171) 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine
Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περὶ ἐνεργείας Δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 876,
one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

(171) 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 (784) All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for
forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the
789 threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
(791) scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
(554) richtologos (76)
(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery
of the animals.

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, the married woman is doubly
(831) dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
(833) A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
(374) ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our
attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the
other.

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77) is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

[328] [826] [782] [171] [113]

754 789 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171]

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

[827]

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77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 105. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

/277 cont./

754 789 827 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success of someone, or on oneself (80)

> 80. A practice known in antiquity:
>
> ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες [illegible], ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : Εἰδύλλια VII [illegible]
>
> (825) It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος
>
> IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 755 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. 756 (962) However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 788 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/278 cont./
755 be transferred to its occupants.

Here is another example:

755 788 The lid of a cooking pot is filled with water and transported under the same conditions and it is set on the ground. One picks up with tongs a glowing coal with which one makes the sign of the cross on the edges of the lid and, while murmuring the ritual phrase (of Byzantine origin):

[539] "Jesus Christ is the conqueror...
He dispels all evils..."

one lets the coal fall into the water while pronouncing the name of the one whom one suspects of having cast the evil eye on the child. If the coal remains on the surface it is certain that the person mentioned is innocent. One must then recommence the entire ritual while pronouncing the name of another suspect, then another, and so on until the coal sinks. The person responsible having been dicovered thanks to this procedure of divination, the child will immediately be rid of this baneful influence.

Another procedure consists of taking three grains of salt and three grains of incense with three fingers of the right hand used in crossing oneself (according to the Orthodox ritual) and making the sign of the cross on the child while murmuring an incantation that we do not know. After that 755 the salt and the incense are thrown on the fire and the child, its clothing and its covers are passed over it. Then the child, wrapped in the fumigated covers, is laid down and falls asleep.

The fumigations (as we shall call them from now on) constitute therapy not only against the evil eye but also against children's diseases. 755 824 Thus the flowers that have served as decorations for the Orthodox epitaphios (worship at the tomb of the Lord) on Good Friday, saved and dried, are burned on these occasions. The same is done with the flowers of the wicker, /water willow?/ shrub to whose firmness and flexibility magic forces are attributed. We shall see farther on that the willow is

755 [824] /278 cont./
used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] [372] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 789 [754] The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes appropriate exorcisms. (83)

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

233 789 114 83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

233 /279 cont./

789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 784 221 [754] As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 514 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a wound dressing made with human urine (85)

233 [171] 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to Ἰω. Νηστευτής M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

(821) Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

(791) There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the
(793) person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism
(789) against the spells. (86)
(755)

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

(751) Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate
(789)
(825) objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.

789
825 The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

/280 cont./

789 825 snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their [755] harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all 825 can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first 777 of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to 789 hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic. (88)

> 88. This is the explanation of G. Megas: Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

825 842 789 Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

825 842 789 /281 cont./
itself is also a magic act.

825 789 [783] [778] The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not sacred, hence suitable for wearing.

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. ('Ηπειρωτική 'Εστία, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani, [173]

825 /282 cont./
289 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[173] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at
the same time an explicit interpretation which corrobor-
[171] ates our own. However, this type of protection against
magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also
found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol.
A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice
only protection against snake bites and "evils." The
protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer,
can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated
to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is
true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again
in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that
exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person
must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have
obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be
justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754
602 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even

754 /282 cont./

602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.

787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

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763
825 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787
825
823 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune awaits the passerby.

787
825
586 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : 'Αλκιβιάδης.
22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

/283 cont./

787 825 586 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing. That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for everybody--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] (833) (755) 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 825 787 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 787 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

823 763 787 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.

787 (887) (554) However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/284 cont./

787 [887] [554] takes the bare shoulderblade and, examining the multiformed spots of the marrow made visible by the cooking and irregularities of the bone, announces the portents. The drawing, no. 102, shows the marks and their meaning.

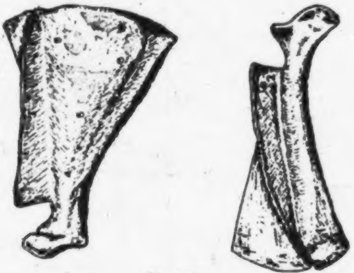

Fig. 102

Foretelling the future on the basis of the shoulderblade.
1. Future law-suit.--2. Paying out or taking in.--3. Arrest.--4. Death (man-woman).--5. Enemy.--6. War.--7. Encirclement by bandits.

[619] /285/ The portents have to do with the life of individuals, the family, the group and even national life--facts which show once again how much the Sarakatsani feels himself to be integrated in his nation.

787 171 Divination by the shoulderblade is practiced in all of continental Greece. It seems that its roots go far back in time. According to Professor G. Megas, divination is bound up with the mysteries of Mithra and was introduced from Egypt into Greece. (93)

93. G. Megas: Βιβλίον Ὠμοπλατοσκοπίας, p. 10.

It is found in Byzantium and among numerous peoples (94)

94. Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεικτα, Τ Α', p. 78.

Let us cite also a special study on Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ

/285 cont./

787 171 in the periodical Philologus, pp. 166-168, according to a Viennese code: G. Megas: Ibid., p. 5.

(Huns, Mongols, Yugoslavs, Scots, Corsicans, Spaniards, French, Germans, English and as far as the region of Labrador). (95)

95. K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la civilisation, p. 390.

According to the same author, its very large dissemination in Byzantium is due to the fact that the Church, which did not tolerate the pagan methods of divination on the occasion of sacrifices, showed itself more tolerant of it /scapulamancy/ (96)

96. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21, citing also the work of Bouche-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination, I, 180: Scapulamancy /divination by the scapula/, about which we are informed by Psellus, must have been one of the last transformations of empyromancy/divination by fire/ born of the bloody sacrifice.

We believe that this hypothesis is well founded, for it is corroborated by that fact that the lambs of Easter, of St. George, etc., are the main [178) objects of observation. There is thus an intervention of religion in this practice which divests it of its original pagan character.

787 Connections between the signs of the shoulderblade, on the one hand, and the life of men, on the other, are justified in the thinking of those who use scapulamancy by their intent. Before the animal is put to death its owner must plan the subjects about which he will consult the shoulderblade. (97)

97. See The code published by G. Megas: Ibid., p. 8: "Take a ewe or a lamb and after you have named what you want to find out, kill it..."

* * * *

/285 cont./

128 These last observations complete this general survey of the magic practices of our herders and their historico-cultural origins.

Though the pages we have devoted to them do not exhaust the subject--the choice of the more significant facts constituting the requirement /286/ for every work of this kind--it seems to us that the picture drawn is sufficiently rich to permit us to push our analysis forward toward new problems.

THE MAGICAL THINKING OF THE SARAKATSANI

121 What is the specific /type of/ thought that defines and justifies
789 the magic practices and rites of the Sarakatsani? That is the new
153 problem which we shall attack within the context of this study whose chief concern is anthropological.

If studied from the outside, this thinking proves to be entirely oriented toward action, leading toward the end to be reached. It takes into consideration only the methods handed down by tradition, without ever questioning their effectiveness, whether the desired effects are obtained or not. In this thinking, means and effects are not bound together by a rational type of judgment, but are joined together in belief.

However, this definition is very general and, on that account, applicable to all kinds of magic. We must therefore seek to formulate another /definition/, more subtle, hence more representative of the characteristics of the magic of these herders.

[124] In this matter we were unable to count on the possible aid of our informants. Those who practice magic never ask themselves about the thought underlying it. Thus we find ourselves obliged to proceed by inference and to conduct our research from materials included in the foregoing title /section/. We can pin-point its stages in relation to the following reflections:

If it is true that in order to "recognize" a thought we must retain the ideas in which it is expressed, it will be necessary, in order to recapture

/286 cont./

121 Sarakatsani magical thinking, to try to keep the ideas that emanate
789 from it apart from the phenomena in which these ideas manifest theselves.
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We shall therefore start by determining the fundamental ideas governing both the magic action and the means put at its disposal. There is here a static aspect which, as such, offers to our eyes only a limited view of our problem. In order to broaden it, its transposition to a dynamic perspective seems indispensable. We shall therefore examine under what conditions magic and the corresponding ideas are born, what is /287/ the process of their formation, what is the totality of ideas that accompanies their application.

That is not all. It is also necessary to see what the Sarakatsani idea is concerning their magic. We shall rediscover it included in their attitude toward magic. Then, by using the conclusions drawn from these observations, we shall proceed to an attempt to define the magic thought.

Finally, we shall compare magic thought and non-magic thought in order to emphasize the characteristics and the structure of the former, and we shall conclude with some critical reflections bearing on our interpretations and our conclusions.

The Postulates that Make Possible Magic Action.

The magical thought of the Sarakatsani puts forward certain fundamental ideas, true postulates, which serve as points of departure and a basis for magical action. We shall enumerate them:

The postulate of transmissibility. This is the conviction that virtues, qualities, characteristics, functions, etc., existing in the forces ruling the universe or in certain definite objects can be transmitted to men or to beasts if they /the latter/ are put in contact with these forces or these objects.

The postulate of the opposition of forces. In order to defend his person and his goods against threats arising from various sources

/287 cont./

121 (supernatural beings, hidden evils, evil eye, etc.), man can oppose
789 them with forces in his favor. The result is a mutual neutralization
153 of opposite influences which permits men and animals to keep safe from
evil.

The postulate that forces will not destroy themselves. The fact that a person is a harmful force, or rather its symbol on themselves, suffices to hinder the latter from releasing its baneful influence: it cannot act against itself.

The postulate of simple removal. The evils, represented anthropomorphically, can be forced to remove themselves if one attacks their supposed senses (sight, hearing, smell, touch, etc.) in a disagreeable fashion.

The postulate of purification. If, despite the precautions taken, man or beast are attacked by magic influences, they are at the very least contaminated. A purification is /288/ possible by means of favorable forces which neutralize the contamination by exerting an opposing influence on it.

Finally, the postulate of representation of desired situations and effects desired. Sometimes, all that is needed in order to cause a situation or obtain a desired effect, is to represent them in one way or another, by gestures, words or dramatic scenes. In this case the representation is as good as the reality.

This postulate is connected, up to a certain point, with the conviction that man, in certain circumstances, is in a position to set in motion for his benefit the forces ruling the universe.

The most important of these postulates (98)

98. A certain number of examples illustrating them will be found below, p. 290.

is that of transmissibility, not because it is found in most of the rites and practices, but because it is one of the assumptions underlying the

/288 cont./

121 others--an assumption that is both ontological and operational.

789 A governing idea comes to light behind these postulates and serves 153 as their foundation: a desired result can be obtained if man, the livestock and their lives are brought into relationship with an appropriate agent--the source of a favorable influence. The magic operation thus involves two components that are placed in association.

Which leads to a new question: How is this association brought about? Two more postulates furnish the solution:

1. Contact. The components of the magic action are placed either in direct contact or in mediated contact. In the second instance one of the elements of the action--and at that moment it is a matter of a cosmic force or a qualitative reality, hence arbitrary--is represented by a symbol or a sign serving as mediator.

It is interesting to note that often an object is chosen as a symbol which itself has a relationship, obviously assumed, with the force it represents, so that the latter will have transmitted to that object some of its properties. Thus the symbol in question has a double efficacy. It becomes a means of contact both indirect (as a symbol) and direct (because of the properties which have been transmitted to it.) That is the [826] case, for example, with the blood of the woman in childbirth on the lips of [844] the child, it symbolizes the creative forces and at the same time has properties of its own since it has already been in contact with the creative forces. In this case we may speak of a mixed contact.

/289/ 2. Representation. The association is sometimes brought about by simple representation. Instead of being brought about materially, the contact is represented. This is the equivalent if not the corollary of the postulate of the representation of situations, but the two things must not be confused. In the postulate, the representation produces the final effect. When the representation is a means of association, the contact is simply imitated without going further.

121 /289 cont./

This kind of association also includes the juxtaposition in space
789 of the two components of the magic action.

153 CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MAGIC IS CALLED UPON TO INTERVENE.

We may distinguish four categories:

a) Psychological: the Saraktasani must cope with problems of urgent necessity. In most cases the issues are vital.

b) Cultural: Sarakatsani knowledge and technology are incapable of solving these problems.

c) Social: it is Sarakatsani society, in large part, that defines the needs and makes them urgent. Furthermore, the social framework hampers the development of knowledge and technology. Thus it thwarts, albeit indirectly, the rational solution of problems.

d) "Human": man, like all the other species, must act upon his environment in order to survive. Magic is a means of dominating the world through the action that it inspires.

Two conclusions are to be drawn from this classification:

a) Each of the conditions enumerated above may be isolated from the others only abstractly, which means that in reality all four make up an indissoluble whole.

b) These conditions are reduced in practice to strong motivations, at once intellectual, affective, socio-cultural and even instinctive (it is self-preservation which, basically, is involved), which set in motion the magical thinking and constitute an atmosphere favorable to its development.

It would therefore be erroneous to assert, as has been done on several occasions, that magic, as thought or as action, is based solely on man's fear and anguish before the unknown and the mysterious, on the thought of his weakness in the face of entities /290/ that are beyond him. Reality demands that we approach the study of magic on the basis of all the phenomena that underly it, in other words, in a multidimensional manner.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMULATION OF POSTUALTES AND MEANS OF ACTION.

The postulates as well as the means of magical action are based on the observation of the sentient world. Transmissibility, mutual neutralization of opposing forces, non-self-destruction of forces, withdrawal from the painful and disagreeable are phenomena derived from the everyday /experience/.

Man, through his own experience of heat transmission from a warm body to a cold body, of the contagiousness of diseases, of putrefaction of organic matter placed near matter already decomposed, readily concludes that contact with an object possessing a desired property of quality is a sufficient means of acquiring it. (99)

> 99. This same ideas is also found in H. Webster: La magie "the magician is incapable of distinguishing the category of resemblance from that of identity... It is an axiom of magic that imagination is the equivalent or reality: Ficta pro veris accipi," p. 71.--However, Webster does not see that if the magician does not make the distinction between resemblance and identity, the reason is not a logical incapacity, but psycho-sociological factors, as we shall see later on.

Similarly, he concludes in favor of other postulates from analogous facts. If two men push a rock from opposite sides and they are equally strong, the rock will not roll. If a person wants to pass through a hedge of thorny shrubs, the thorns will make him turn back. And it is contrary to all probability to suppose that a source of any influence, especially when basically it is anthropomorphically conceived, can act against itself and in such a way as to destroy itself.

Thus, by deduction, man arrives at the two principal ideas of all magic, that of transmissibility, on the one hand, and that of the effectiveness of contact, on the other, and consequently /he arrives/ at all the others.

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121 At the base of all this may be seen an activity of the mind
789 developing from analogical reasoning, which makes possible the deductions
153 in question.

Nevertheless, how can one not ask oneself what impels the Sarakatsani to accept and apply practices supported only by analogical reasoning, not objectively /291/ verifiable? It is all the more impossible to escape this question since these herders have enough critical and rational mentality, as their technology and their social organization show, to test the efficacy of the procedures based on the ideas expressed above. Thus, the failure to verify postulates and procedures shows that in the process of their formation other factors intervene which make them a subject of general belief. It is not the established value of the analogical reasoning which imposes the postulates and the methods of action. It is the dynamics of these other elements which force their acceptance.

We are therefore faced with one of the most delicate problems of Sarakatsani magic which we must clarify before proceeding further. We believe the way to solve it is through the following hypotheses.

Everything may begin by chance. A coincidence, a combination of circumstances or some result taking place in the presence of two components, actually or presumably related, suffices for the relationship to be considered the cause of the effect.

It may likewise be supposed that man, under the emotional impetus arising from the need to face a problem for him and those around him that is serious and otherwise insoluble may decide to act by analogical reasoning. If a certain effect is produced, though it be illusory, or, what amounts to the same thing, if other factors intervene which, rightly or wrongly, seem to hinder the realization of the desired result, he will be led to believe that his procedure is effective.

In the third place, it is probable that a simple hypothesis based on analogical reasoning related to a treatment or any curative goal and

/291 cont./

121 put forward in a doubtful manner is assumed by an interlocutor, finding
789 himself in conditions favoring this type of reasoning, to be a
153 prescription or a method of action to be followed.

These examples, which could be multiplied, may give an inkling of how the nucleus of a future conviction originates.

Once this method is established, the collective consciousness of the group in which this phenomenon develops will pass judgment on it; it will accept it or reject it. But if /the method/ is accepted, the group will give it its prestige, its authority over individual consciousness, and will sacralize it.

/292/ Furthermore, duration, time will add its own confirmation. The comments, the narration, the repetition, will enrich the initial idea. In view of the fact that the beginnings of the initial experience are rooted in the past, manipulation will draw from it increased prestige. And insofar as technical or cognitive progress do not disturb it, the belief in its effectiveness will remain alive.

121 Obviously, all this is merely hypothesis, not diachronically verifiable since ethnographic observation has no way of studying traditional phenomena at the time they are born. Nevertheless, it seems to us that these hypotheses are governed by certain phenomena of an analogous order, which are produced in our societies and of which we herewith give a brief description.

First, analogical reasoning in connection with curative phenomena is not foreign to our "civilized" mentality. Some examples drawn from recent experience show this in a striking manner.

The introduction of antibiotics in the therapy of certain scientifically defined diseases was immediately followed by their immoderate use for everything, even for simple ailments for which they are not effective. The beneficial action of novocaine on arthritic pains of old people has led to the conviction that this medicine combats old age. At one time (100)

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100. In 1952. the rumor spread in Greece that a plant, elaterion, constituted a means of treating cancer. And since in popular Greek elaterion is called bitter gherkin, it was believed that it could be used against diabetes "for it has a bitter essence which, as such, can neutralize the sugar in the blood."

In all these cases, passages from the known to the unknown under certain affective conditions is clear.

If practices of this kind do not become lastingly rooted in our society it is because the possibility of criticism and reply always exists: specialists and prestigious institutions are there to combat them, aided by contemporary methods of diffusion and popularization of scientific knowledge, and even by the state which neutralizes purveyors of falsehood.

Moreover, the members of our societies have, on the one hand, a much more "technicized" intellectual frame of reference than the /293/ members of traditional societies; on the other hand (a fact of major importance), they can "hope for another solution" that scientific research will propose sooner or later.

As for the process of the acceptance and propagation of these practices, which basically represents the social aspect of the problem, the mechanism of the birth and spreading of rumors in our societies is very revealing. We know that rumor has as its point of departure the combination of a cognitive fact and an emotional state. We also know, especially from the experiments of G.W. Allport and Leo Postman, (101)

101. G.W. Allport and Leo Postman: The psychology of rumor /cited in English/, p. 247. See also J. Stoeztel: La Psychologie sociale, pp. 249-255.

that rumors obey the principle of "sharpening" /cited in English/: the

/293 cont./

121 accentuation and enrichment of certain components of the fact spread by rumor, so that precisely because of this inflation, other components of the same fact are obscured and thus reality is distorted. Finally,
121 according to G. Durandin, "from the moment one knows that a thing was
789 real, one knows all the more that it is possible, and one is led to invent other things of the same type." (102)

102. G. Durandin: Les rumeurs, p. 17. See also p. 25; also his statement that roseate rumors "belong to the domain of magic thinking," p. 18.--Yet this author, by his statement, has merely established a parallelism of motivation which, according to him, is the same in both cases: "the roseate rumor represents the imaginative realization of a desire," he says (p. 18); and he implies that magic is only that. But he does not push his comparisons far enough to arrive at the role that the mechanism of rumor plays in the birth of magical beliefs.

Now, by combining these several assertions on "analogical practices" with the mechanism of the spread of rumors, we succeed in understanding how a fact becomes a model of action, a curative practice, even though it is based on fortuitous relationships and judgments: in each case where one event, occurring in a climate of emotional exaltation, is transmitted from mouth to ear, it goes through successive transformations in which desire and reality are confused, it is crystallized into a coherent account and finally becomes the object of general conviction.

At the end of this process one has helped in the creation of a myth. The conviction that one may obtain a curative effect by the means described, basically constitutes but a myth. It is precisely the mythical character of the conviction in question which prevents the verification of its effectiveness and which produces it. By following this course, man subdues the unknown and in so doing obtains hope and consolation. (103)

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103. On the relations of this myth which might be called a "social myth (through all myths are social) to the cosmological myth see below Chapter VIII.

/294/ This said, we must ask ourselves whether actually this parallel between the mechanism of the formation of "analogical" curative procedures observed in our societies and that of magical procedures of traditional societies is a fortunate parallel, and also whether our conclusions with regard to the first can be applied to the second, in view of the difference that exists between these societies.

We believe that the reply is affirmative:

Contemporary instances of analogical curing and the procedures of traditional white magic are called upon to serve the same needs. They originate under the same objective conditions, that is to say, where knowledge cannot intervene. They respond to the same psychological needs of security and deliverance from the anguish in the face of the unknown; therefore they manifest themselves in a climate which does not favor a distinction between the wished-for and the real.

Finally, the influence that society exerts is the same in both cases. The expectation of a solution in the past of the group as well as individuals comes before every creative event of practice and conviction. And at the moment this event takes place the channels of its diffusion--individuals, sub-groups, groups, etc.--are the same; they are called upon to take part in it and they actually do so, determining the same results.

Therefore, the inference from synchronic phenomena to diachronic phenomena is not arbitrary, and does not constitute a « μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος ». Our hypotheses are legitimate and it seems to us that they do not distort reality. Consequently, we may definitively conclude that: 1st, both the postulates and the means of Sarakatsani magical action are based on analogical reasoning.--2nd, this reasoning born under (153)

789 /294 cont./
121 the pressure of necessity and in an emotional climate that springs
[153] from it, then is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society by way of a mechanism very close to--if not identical with--that of the creation of rumors.--3rd, finally owing to these conditions, it /this reasoning/ is transformed into patterns of action--objects of an unshakable belief from which it derives its validity and the reason for it its existence. It then becomes myth which, while summoned to action and repetition, has no need for a foundation other than its own character of myth, since myth is never accompanied by doubt.

/295/ Nevertheless, we have not yet shown how two phenomena came about. These are, on the one hand, the postulate of the representation of situations and desired effects and, on the other, the represented contact.

121 Now, the acceptance of this postulate and this type of contact implies
153 once again the use of analogical reasoning.

789 If an effect is produced by bringing into contact two already existing components, why should not another effect be produced by bringing into relation one component (man or animal) with the representation of a situation or a desired reality?

Likewise, if material contact permits transmission and other effects, resulting from it why does contact merely represented not allow this?

The fact that the second component of the magical action as well as the means of action are merely symbolized in the representation is not a sufficient reason to consider this postulate and this means as qualitatively different from others. The relationship between symbol and thing symbolized is so intimate that finally symbol and thing symbolized become identified.

121 Thus we see that the process by which the postulate and the magical
789 means in question were formed cannot differ from that which has been accepted in connection with other postulates and means, despite the

/295 cont./

121 peculiarity of the original phenomenon which is only apparent. As
789 for the rest, this phenomenon, for the same reason as the other original phenomenon, is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society, and finally becomes a myth. But the social aspect and the mythical aspect are inseparable elements of all magic.

121 IDEAS GOVERNING THE APPLICATION OF POSTULATES AND PROCEDURES. CHARACTER OF THESE IDEAS. THE PRINCIPLE OF HOMOGENEITY.

The ideas governing the application of the postulate of transmissibility are developed on two levels, depending on the nature of the problems to be solved.

The latter are divided into two broad categories: fundamental problems, on the one hand, and, on the other, problems which are certainly important but presuppose that the first have been posed and resolved.

/296/ The fundamental problems are related to the sources of life (creation of a new life: fecundity) and to the functioning of nature (regeneration of nature: universal fertility).

The other problems concern the determination of sex, the acquisition of physical, physiological or biological properties, the acquisition of a state of being, the fulfillment of curative effects or of certain practical effects. (104)

> 104. The terminology which we have used here distorts reality up to a certain point since the Sarakatsani do not have the same classification of reality as we. Nevertheless, the examples and explanations that follow will permit an avoidance of misunderstanding.

[789] In order to arrive at a solution of the fundamental problems the Sarakatsani, as we have seen, appeals to forces that his mythology has
[776] revealed to him: beliefs centered on the Mother-Goddess and her avatars. (105)

/296 cont./

121 105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this
789 system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained
772 on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has
disappeared. The part of their content that has survived
constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of
the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification
of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected.
See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the
789 Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so
that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological
[827] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those
same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in
[823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild
[825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility,
[842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the
[233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to
the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has
[824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics:
the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their
number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The
sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of
[231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a
[822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/297 cont./

121 789 mechanical device sometimes suffices. This is the case, for example, with the rope and the knots placed on the mother-to-be so that the child will remain firmly bound to her.

--Finally, in order to create certain practical effects, the results of certain favorable situation, the latter are reproduced in allegorical representations: young girls sitting on the ground to represent ewes suckling their lambs.

These examples are significant from several points of view. We see first that, for the Sarakatsani, the conception of the child and the determination of its sex are phenomena of a different order; that the fertility of nature is independent of the volume of products; that these phenomena which, according to our science, we would classify under the same headings (biology--a mechanism of the yield of the earth) for they come from different parts of reality. (106)

> 106. That is why our language can, as we have pointed out, cause confusion when it is applied to certain facts of Sarakatsani life. We use it for want of anything better. We hope that our explanations will clarify these peculiarities.

121 772 789 This shows that for them the world is divided into two parts, the one governed by the creative force of the universe, the other subject to the reciprocal influence of elements that these forces have already created.

The part that is subject to forces is, basically, subordinated to what the Sarakatsani consider to be the first causes of the world. These causes, which release fecundity and fertility, the foundation of all existence, escape their knowledge and their technology, and this by definition, because of the grandiose and mysterious element that characterizes them and that far exceeds the properties of the visible world. No creature, no object created possesses sufficient power to act on that which created it.

/297 cont./

121 On the other hand, once created, the visible world can act on
789 itself, for it belongs to the same category of reality. Thus, the
772 conceived, or presumably conceived, child can be submitted to the in-
842 fluence of another child for the purpose of deciding its sex. But
no child can, by its influence, induce the creation of a new life.

121 /298/ We believe that we are touching here on the essential
789 character of Sarakatsani ideas of life, of nature and of the possibilities of /their/ acting on them. It is, moreover, in terms of these ideas that we must understand the differentiation of their magical action bearing on the problems we have enumerated. But above all it is in this intellectual ambience that the postulate of transmissibility is called upon to intervene and to inspire magical action which is then differentiated when put in concrete form, in terms of the ideas previously set forth.

The result is that there are grounds for speaking of a simple transmission in connection with other problems, taking into account the reality in which this transmission is practiced.

However, since mythology that determined the first type of transmission has been forgotten by the Sarakatsani, we must ask ourselves whether such a distinction corresponds to the facts.

Now these facts force us to recognize that though the myth-originators of the rites are forgotten, the existence of universal forces, even anonymous ones, is always felt behind the objects they symbolize and that consequently the operator finds himself clearly in the domain of myth and the mythical climate, even though the latter are no longer expressed in a formula or a narrative. (107)

107. We shall not stress further the specific traits of the myth, for we shall come back to them in one of the subsequent chapters.

The mythical transmission exists therefore, and its mythical foundations

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121 have nothing unusual about them if we consider the phenomena which it
789 aims at and the lack of other means of influencing them.

121 Simple transmission presupposes a knowledge of the outside world
82 based on perception and observation, and even on common sense. Obviously,
789 this knowledge does not always correspond to scientific facts, but one cannot, for all that, deny its existence. It is this same knowledge that has given rise to the formation of the postulate of transmissibility and which here determines the content and orientation of the corresponding practices. Thanks to it the Sarakatsani succeeds in grasping the qualities and properties of different objects, qualities and properties which he lacks and of which he has need; finally, it is this knowledge that permits him to symbolize some desirable effects by means of the
(153) properties in question. This process is likewise bound up with analogical reasoning.

Myth does not occupy a place in the framework of simple transmission as such. However, it promotes /299/ the effectiveness of the latter, as we have shown in the preceeding paragraph.

These two types of action--mythical transmission and simple transmission--inspired by the postulate of transmissibility, as well as the ideas underlying them are not opposed to each other but are complementary. The ideas refer to two aspects of the world which ultimately become one. And these two kinds of action become integrated in a single process of which they represent two complementary aspects. At the point where the practices defined by myth reach their limit, the practices inspired by knowledge and analogous reasoning enter the scene to complete the work of the first ones. The ultimate goal is man and his life.

On the other hand, observation of transmission practices shows--and we must emphasize this particularly--that the components of the action which are brought into contact present a homogeneity of qualities. There is a correspondence between the property, the quality, etc., which one

/299 cont./

121 wishes to acquire and the virtues of the different objects with which
82 one puts oneself in contact in order to satisfy this desire. The
789 strength of iron and the skull ensure the strength of the living being. The sweetness of honey /ensures/ the sweetness of life. The multitude of seeds, the multitude of products. The male child, the birth of boys, etc. In this correspondence we see that quantity calls forth quantity, quality /calls forth/ quality, the abstract and the symbolic /call forth/ abstraction and symbolism, the functional /calls forth/ the functional. However, and this deserves to be emphasized very specially, this homogeneity of qualities points to a classifications of reality made by the Sarakatsani themselves. There is no need to try to justify them scientifically. The fact that these classifications exist is very significant. Equally significant is the fact that the magical action is possible only within the same category of the real.

121 Shifts from one type of quality to another come about only within the
789 limits of symbolism, a fact which does not deny the homogeneity but confirms it.

[153] Underneath this action we must recognize a thinking both positive and selective, testifying anew to the existence among the Sarakatsani of rationality and a knowledge of the world, closely bound up with their magic.

The application of the processes of contact within the framework of practices inspired by the postulate of transmissibility /300/ is also determined by homogeneity. Direct and material contact, on the one hand, and mediated contact, on the other, are carried out only on the basis of a choice made in terms of what one seeks to transmit: the mythical and abstract can be transmitted only through the intermediary of a symbol or a sign (the moons on the skirt; black, the sign of mourning), for they represent all of intelligible reality. On the other hand, the transmission of a concrete property (blood from the paschal lamb on the forehead of

/300 cont./

boys against anemia) requires a direct, if not material, contact.

* * * *

The ideas connected with the application of the postulates of the opposition of forces, of the non-self-destruction of forces and of purification, through the medium of practices which they inspire, are the same as the preceding ones.

These are forces evoked in connection with practices aiming at the neutralization of obscure and mysterious threats, and the forces, as we have said, always come from myth: the caul of the child and the log buried at the entrance of the enclosure, symbols of creative forces that neutralize the threats against life. The dogs' excrements and the /weights from/ the spindles of the fairies, worn as amulets, prevent demons and fairies from acting against the child, for the latter has appropriated their properties, and the forces will not act against themselves. Water, like fire or the earth is the source of life, these sources purify whatever is contaminated by evil spirits and remove the latter, for they are the opposites of the latter.

Once again the principle of homogeneity goes into effect, forces neutralizing forces.

The placement into contact obeys the same principle because it is practiced through the medium of symbols, as is fitting when one deals with forces.

* * * *

Nevertheless, the practices of simple removal seem to resist explanation on the basis of the ideas behind the action inspired by the postulates thus far enumerated, since, in order to remove the evil spirits considered as first causes, one has recourse to second causes--malodorous fires, thorns, noises, colors, etc. But this inconsistency is only apparent. Since evils are /301/ represented anthropomorphically, they are acted against as though they were men, second causes, hence through

/301 cont./

121 789 the medium of elements of the sentient world. It is in this manner, moreover, that direct contact is used in order to bring into relationship the components of the action.

* * * *

Finally, with regard to the ideas bound up with the application of the postulate of representation, we must emphasize first that their study must be adapted to the demands of each case. Specifically, the corresponding practices consist of the ritual of Pure Monday, the scene of Christmas Day, vows and curses and, clearly, black magic.

The evocation of forces, and consequently the recourse to myth, takes place in all cases except in the scene of Christmas Day. The orientation of the practices--fertility, state of being and longevity, threats against existence--determines the recourse to first causes.

(536) On the other hand, the scene of Christmas, during which young girls, seated motionless on the ground, imitate nursing ewes, comprises only non-mythical elements, since this action is based on second causes. A situation is reproduced which must be carried out in connection with elements of this world. We have shown, moreover, the role that analogical reasoning plays in this practice.

In all these cases, the placement into-contact is represented.

Now, the homogeneity between the components of the action as well as between the kind of action and the means chosen is absolutely complied with.

THE SARAKATSANI IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR MAGIC.--THE RITES.

The Sarakatsani practicing his magic is not "cold-blooded." It is not only desire, conditioned by need, and the hope of arriving at some kind of result; it is not even the abstract idea of having to do with cosmogonic forces which moves him. What thrills him is the nature of these forces that myth discloses and suggest to him, dictating at the same time specific attitudes toward them. The study of these attitudes

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)

121 108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known
by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois:
L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his
quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once
their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the
child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in
childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the
time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and
consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the
Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside
its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that
a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure;
he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
121 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his
magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our
informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and
butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the
entities that determine his destiny.

/302 cont./

789 These remarks, though brief, show very well that the magical action
121 of our herders has about it nothing mechanical or constraining. The
forces do not act automatically or obligatorily simply because the magic
practice has been carried out. The wish of man, expressed in his acts,
is evocative but not determining. It seems that the wish represents,
rather, a challenge thrown out to these forces, but without the certainty
that the latter will rise to it. Finally, when the desired effect is
[781] produced the Saraktasani is dominated by the feeling that something
[774] exceptional has been accomplished, and his soul is filled with wonder and
exaltation.

121 All these states of the soul, a product of mythical ideas put into
789 /303/ magical thought, are bound up indissolubly, actually or potentially,
153 with his thought. This enables us to understand that Sarakatsani magic,
despite the intellectual aspects that we have particularly emphasized, is
not a mechanical or rational magic, but includes components and living
experiences which make it much richer than analogical reasoning or any
other reasoning.

To come back to our problem, the states of the soul as described constitute for Sarakatsani magical thinking a sort of ambience with which the latter is suffused, although in actuality they cannot be separated from it. Seen from the standpoint of structure, this ambience represents the foundations of all the layers of their magical thinking, whether the rites involved or those transmission or any others.

121 This means that the rites of simple transmission, too, are
789 accompanied by uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the desired
effect, and by respect and wonder at the result accomplished. Obviously,
these feeling are relatively subdued as compared with those that arise
in connection with other magic practices. One finds here nothing
mechanical, automatic or, coercive that would require the desired property
and quality to be transmitted to man or animals.

/303 cont./

121 An explanation becomes necessary. The belief in the effectiveness
789 of magical practices that we have recognized as steadfast among our
herders, and the profound feeling that the forces are not obliged to act because the practice has been carried out are not contradictory assertions. If the forces do not always respond to man's appeal, it is not because the practice is ineffective, but because the forces are superior to man and his acts, hence by definition relatively free.

Now we are able to understand other incomplete phenomena which represent for magical thinking so many problems to which it must truly give a solution.

121 If the magical action is clothed in the form of a rite and if it
789 must be carried out solemnly and faithfully, that is because the myth in
788 action manifests itself only ritually, the mythic suggestion being
expressed adequately only by the implication of the rite. Likewise, the domination of the myth by the grandiose can be externalized /304/ only by solemnity. And as for the fidelity of the execution, this results from the concern about effectiveness, for in practice effects are not produced if one does not follow the prescriptions to the letter.

MAGICAL THINKING.--AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION.

121 All the ideas that we have brought out in analyzing the postulates
789 of magical action, its methods, the process by which postulates and
811 methods are formed and the ideas accompanying their application sufficiently reveal the nature and internal structure of the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani.

It is a pragmatic type of thought which develops from a fundamental idea according to which the desired effect is obtained by "placing-into-contact" the beneficiary of the magic and a source of influence.

This idea, likewise pragmatic and forming part of magical thinking, occupies in the latter the same place that causal connections hold in technology. It is formed on the basis of everyday experience and by

/304 cont./

121 789 811 deduction through analogical reasoning. Thereafter it is put in concrete form and gives rise to certain postulates which are likewise pragmatic, and which determine the action.

This point of departure having been established, the magical thinking, in search of a suitable source of influence, oscillates between two poles which are not external to it, but are integrated in it, following closely the Sarakatsani scheme of classification of the different parts of the universe: myth and the perceptual knowledge of the external world and common sense. Magic thinking turns toward myth when it finds itself in the presence of fundamental cosmological and anthropological problems (life--fecundity--fertility) and also obscure forces and influences arising from first causes or representing them, which stand outside all experience and all knowledge. On the other hand, it is prompted by knowledge when it deals with all other problems relating to secondary causes.

Magic action is thus organized accordingly. The "placing-in-contact" is sometimes oriented toward mythic entities, sometimes toward perceptible or intelligible elements, depending on the ideas on which it is based. In order to act upon first causes /305/ it is necessary to proceed by mythic entities. To act on second causes, either may be used depending on the case. Hence the differences in the content of ritual and magical practices. Hence also the conclusion that magical action is possible only within a given category of reality, a fact which gives rise to a working principle, that of the homogeneity of the components of the action, of homogeneity of the property to acquire and the property to transmit.

However, magical thinking is thinking "under certain conditions." It is therefore engaged in, and consequently exposed to, various psychological, social and cultural dynamics which render its propositions and manifestations objects of social myths. The latter give it veracity and make unnecessary any effort to verify its statements through experience.

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121 789 811 The result is that magical thinking is a complex in which multiple elements, bound together by dialectical relations, meet and intersect: cosmological and anthropological myths, social myths, rational proceedings and elements (classification, knowledge, experience, judgment, reasoning), intentions, imagination, various "actual experiences" and motivations, affective and otherwise (desires, hopes, fears, anguish, as well as respect and exaltation in the presence of the mysterious, the grandiose, the transcendent), social dynamics collective elements, etc.--in a word, manifestations of all psychic and social phenomena.

All these elements are present in magical thinking and naturally in the action that it determines.

Magical Thinking and Non-Magical Thinking: Their Respective Structures.

The procedure and the structure of magical thinking being thus circumscribed, comparing it with non-magic thinking will prove relatively easy.

At the level of procedure, the two follow an identical process. Starting from certain premises, they advance by successive propositions to a conclusion.

On the level of their structures they are different. The difference manifests itself in the nature of their premises and the /306/ guarantees for the veracity of their conclusions, as well as in the general structure of their components. While, as a whole, non-magical thinking uses premises made up of rational elements and proceeds to rational and experimental verification of its conclusions, magical thinking involves mythical premises, and its conclusions are supported by myth. Between these two extremes there are intermediary situations which minimize the difference. Non-magical thinking also backs up its conclusions with social myths. And magical thinking bearing on rites of simple transmission contains premises and propositions with a rational coloring while buttressing its conclusion by the myth. These observations show that a certain continuity

/306 cont./

121 789 811 between non-magical and magical thinking can be established. Passage from one to the other proceeds from common thresholds and is a function of the kinds of segments of reality envisaged and the kinds of segments of the possibilities /there are?/ of acting on them. The parts subject to knowledge are within the scope of rationality. The parts subject to myth are within the scope of magical thinking. Since between the parts of reality there are dialectical relationships. the same relationships are reflected in the different modes of action upon reality. We shall see in what follows this same phenomenon manifesting itself on another plane, that of the mutual relations of myth and knowledge. As for the structure of these two kinds of thought, we see that the summit of the hierarchy of components is occupied, in the case of non-magic thinking by rational elements, in the case of magical thinking in simple transmission practices by rational and non-rational components equally, and within that of purely magical thinking by mythical components.

* * * *

* This said, it is time to ask ourselves whether the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani does not indicate a specific mentality? Or, in other words, whether the coexistence of magical thinking along with knowledge and rational thinking does not force us to envisage the existence among them of a plurality of logic or a plurality of mentalities?

(128) Since Chapter III of this part is devoted to the study of knowledge and myth and their reciprocal relations, we shall not enter into an examination of these questions in order not to /307/ anticipate. We (171) shall limit ourselves merely to the statement that these phenomena are universal and not peculiar to the Sarakatsani, and we shall make it clear that they are due to the dynamic brought to bear on their thinking by their specific social structure. This is a conclusion that deserves to be kept in mind, for it will be useful to us later on.

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121 789 811 However, before ending this section, another conclusion, this time methodological, asserts itself. Since Sarakatsani magical thinking proceeds from psychic and wholly social phenomena, it is obvious that any unilateral and unidimensional approach must be excluded if one wishes to arrive at an explanation of it.

That is why, in our own approach, we have not resorted to the principal theories that explain magic. Thus, a brief critical account of these theories appears necessary to justify our position.

SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS.

789 114 Let us begin first with the intellectualistic explanation of J. Frazer revealed in his works: Le Rameau d'or, pp. 3, 5, 24, etc., and Les origines magiques de la royaute, p. 35. Frazer sees in magic an erroneous interpretation of the association of ideas by resemblance and proximity, expressed in the more general idea of sympathy (109)

109. The idea of sympathy already figures in the thought of Greek antiquity and of the Middle Ages. See: M. Nilsson: Les croyances religieuses, p. 193, who cites Plotinus, and Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Ἐπιστολαί.

between objects and phenomena--a sympathy devoid of all human depth--which permits magic manipulations. Even in cases where supernatural beings are invoked the magician treats the latter "as inanimate agents, by force and constraint and not by conciliation or propitiation." (110)

110. Ibid., p. 67.

Now, nothing is more foreign to the magical practices of the Sarakatsani than this "cold prescience" of Frazer which, in its generality, has already been criticized by Mauss and Hubert, (111)

111. M. Mauss and R. Hubert: La Magie, pp. 4, 13, etc.

by R. Bastide, (112)

112. R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse, pp. 19, 28, etc.

/307 cont./

789 114 by G. Gurvitch (113)

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [783] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [788] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

/308 cont./

789 of entering into the plans of man. From this disposition man was able to
114 profit by extending his action beyond that which physical laws would permit" (p. 174). The fable-making function operates in two directions. Either, it manufactures gods and spirits, that correspond to religion, or it invents forces that are not purely mechanical and that yield to our desires and wishes and which correspond to magic (p. 173). In any case, it protects man from "whatever there might be in the exercise of intelligence which could depress the individual and dissolve society" (p. 217). As for magic strictly speaking, its operations do not obey theoretical principles (the rules of magic action), for "if primitive intelligence had begun conceiving principles at this point it would very soon have gone on to experimentation which would have demonstrated the falseness /of magic/." Principles come later on.../309/ "there is a logic of the body, an extension of desire, which is exerted well before intelligence has found a conceptual form for it" (p. 175). "Magic is therefore innate in man, being only the externalization of a desire that fills the heart" (p. 176). And Bergson adds, a little farther on: "Magic appears to us therefore to dissolve into two elements: the desire to act on anything, even on that which cannot be reached and the idea that things are charged, or let themselves be charged, with what we might call a human fluid" (p. 178). It is therefore contrary, in inverse ratio to science (pp. 178-182), and it differs from religion in that "the one claims to force the consent of nature and the other implores the favor of a god."

We are quite willing to agree with the idea that magic presupposes desire and that it protects man from discouragement. But we cannot reduce Sarakatsani magic either to instinct or to a fable-making function derived from it or from the logic of the body which, according to Bergson, in the final analysis guarantees the effectiveness of magic. For us, magic includes rational and mythical elements which are infinitely richer and more complex than any instinctive impulse. Motives must not be confused

/309 cont./

789 114 with their effects, the "fable-making function" with myth, which is an interpretation of the world, and desire, the "logic of the body," with social myths which lead to the belief in the efficacy of magic. Thus, it seems to us that Bergson's theory is not capable of interpreting Sarakatsani magic.

The explanation of magic advanced by Br. Malinowski is found chiefly in two of his studies: Magic, Science and Religion /cited in English/ (1925) and Myth in Primitive Psychology /cited in English/ (1926). In the first, Malinowski says that magic is based on desire and on affective elements: "All such acts...are prima faciae expressions of emotion" /quoted in English/ (p. 72). It is not created from an abstract concept about the existence of a universal force applicable in all concrete cases that occur--the mana (pp. 6, 77, and 78). If there is something universal in magic it is the uniformity of the process that leads to magical thought and behavior (pp. 78-79). The sociological analysis of the belief in magic shows that, under the influence of a strong emotion (vexations, dangers, fear, hatred, love, etc.), or from an obsessive desire, man reproduces in mimicry, through gestures, words or acts that which he desires (Extended expression of emotion /310/ in act and in word, p. 80 /quoted in English/). If a result is then produced, man believes that these same manifestations have created it. Then he thinks that during his emotional exaltation he had some sort of revelation which henceforth enables him to know how he must act in similar instances. THis process determines the formation of rites and practices (p. 81). With respect to the problem of the acceptance of rites as efficacious despite the fact that they are not verified by experience, Malinowski gives us a psychological explanation. The memory of men always retains the cases that correspond to their hopes and represses those that refute them (p. 82). But there is more. Around each great magician a halo of glory is formed, woven from the accounts and commentories of his exploits, his successes, his

/310 cont./

789 114 miraculous cures--what one might call the "current mythology" of magic. Thus, every practitioner finds support in tradition, in his connection with his predecessors, etc. (p. 83).

This last assertion gives Malinowski the opportunity to launch into a discussion of myth and its relationships to magic. But in order to examine this point we shall turn to his second essay (114) where his ideas are developed more fully.

789 773 114 Malinowski maintains that "myth endows the performance of magic with worth and validity, in which myth blends with the belief in magical efficacy" (p. 146 /p. 141-2 Anchor Book edition/). How then does it act? "But once we have realized that myth serves principally to establish a sociological character, or a retrospective (115) rural pattern of behavior, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic - it becomes clear that elements both of explanation and of interest in nature must be found in sacred legends. For a precedent accounts for subsequent cases, though it does so through an order of ideas entirely different from scientific relations of cause and effect, of motive and consequence" (pp. 149-150 /p. 144, Anchor Book edition/). This in not all. "Myth, as a statement of primeval reality which still lives in present-day life and as a justification by precedent, supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical belief...The function of myth briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it /311/ with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, a more supernatural reality of initial events" (pp. 151-152/p. 146 Anchor Book edition/).

114. Translated into French in Moeurs et coutumes, pp. 97-154. The quotations that follow are taken from this translation. /those in the translation are from the original, however./

115. Our italics.

/311 cont./

789 There is therefore not a shadow of doubt that for Malinowski myth
773 is an account formulated after the event, an idealization of a situation,
114 a means of justification which, while referring to the past, insures
the present and the future. Contrary to attempts made before him, to which he refers (p. 111), he does not agree that myth can represent an attempt at knowledge and explanation of the world. "These stories /live/, "he says, "not by idle interest, not as fictitious or even as true narratives...(p. 111 /p. 108 Anchor Ed./). Nor are the stories about 'the origins of rites and customs' told in mere explanation of them...they always state a precedent..." (p. 113/p. 110 Anchor Ed./).

789 This established, it is time we ask what separates us from the theory
114 of Malinowski, what reasons prevent us from accepting it. First of all,
because it reduces the creation of rites to a psycho-physiological automatism and the belief in their efficacy to a matter of selective memory. We do not say that these ideas are erroneous. The facts to which they refer may readily find a place in our explanation of the process by which Sarakatsani magical ideas are formed as well as in the explanation of the belief in the efficacy of magic. However, these two processes are much broader and they presuppose acts, mental states and social dynamics far richer in scope than those proposed by Malinowski.

In the second place, we find that the "current mythology" of magic, which basically corresponds to our social myth about the efficacy of magic, supports not only the accepted competence of the magician, but likewise every magical rite. Furthermore, Malinowski's description of the development of "current mythology" proves incomplete if compared to ours.

789 Finally, we cannot agree that myth is not an explanation of the world
773 and that it is created after the fact. It is not an explanation if con-
114 fronted with scientific explanations founded on the conceptualization of

/311 cont./

789 reality. But it is one if we recognize that it is based on, and
773 formulated in, a language of imagery. /312/ Between these two types
114 of explanation there is a difference in method, but there is none
in the goal to be reached. We shall postpone proof of it until we come to our analysis of myth. For us, the cosmological myth exists before magic. (116)

> 116. We should like to recall in this connection the statement by Durkheim: *De la définition du phénomène religieux*, p. 22: "One cannot have rite without myth."

It is what inspires Sarakatsani magic, its reason for existing, its point of departure.

789 In short, if Malinowski comes to the conclusions we have pointed out,
114 he does so under the pressure of his functionalism, his constant concern
to find "what its good for"--which prevents him from getting at the core of what is, in the last analysis, mythical thought and hence magic.

The theory of M. Mauss, formulated in collaboration with H. Hubert in their study *Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie*, explains magic as emotion and collective forces. "Magic judgments are almost perfect synthetic a priori judgments," he says. "One links together the elements before every kind of experiment..." (p. 117). Magical judgements are not analytical because the magician "always introduces a heterogeneous term, irreducible to its logical analysis: force, power, *physis* or mana. The notion of magical efficacy is always present and it is that which... plays the role of the verb in the proposition" (p. 116). And the magical judgments are a priori because they are "anterior to magical experiments" (p. 117). Yet, because the very ideas of mana which confers on magic its
(778) efficacy is also an a priori idea, "it functions like a category, it makes possible the magical ideas, just as categories make possible human ideas" (p. 111).

/312 cont./

789 The partial problems raised by these assertions are the following:

778 1. Though it is the belief in the force, in the "physis," the

114 mana, which leads to the idea of magic efficacy, it is still necessary to see what this mana consists of and how the belief in it originates. First of all, mana is a category of collective thinking. "It is not present in individual understanding, like time and space; the proof is that it has been possible to reduce it very much by the progress of civilization and that it varies...with societies" (p. 112). Mana is a social notion which grants certain beings or objects /313/ a value attached not "to the intrinsic qualities of things and persons, but to the place and the rank which are attributed to them by sovereign public opinion, by its prejudices. The qualities are social and not experimental" (p.114). To explain the origin of the belief in mana, Mauss refers to the origin of the common belief in the sacred and in mana. "We believe," he says, "that magic is like religion, a matter of feelings" (p. 114). And he adds: "Magic like religion is a play of value judgments," that is to say "aphorism based on feeling, attributing various qualities to various objects which enter its system...These value judgments...are the expression of social feelings..." (pp. 114-115).

2. Now, it is necessary to explain the process by which these "value judgments" concerning the effectiveness of mana and consequently of all magic are formed.

789 "Now," says Mauss, "only collective needs felt by whole group can

114 compel all the individuals of this group to bring about the same synthesis at the same time. The belief of all, their faith, results from the need of all, from their unanimous desire. The magical judgment is the object of social consent, the translation of a social need, the pressure of which unleashes the whole series of phenomena of collective psychology: this need felt by all, suggests to all the end...The synthesis of cause and effect is produced only by public opinion" (pp. 118-119). And a little farther on he concludes "that at the very root of magic there are affective

/313 cont./

789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by aquasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 778 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[171] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127). [755] Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

/314 cont./

789 778 114 same in the "physis" of alchemists, the "dynamis" of astrologers "as a sort of material, non-individual, transmissible soul...which is still very close to mana" (p.110). And in another passage he tells us that in our societies there is a "state of social disquietude and sensibility in which the remnants of the ancient category of mana give substance" (p. 131), which is espressed in a belief in magic. We see thus that for Mauss, mana, even though scarcely perceptible, is inseparable from magic.

789 114 Now, if we have dwelt at length on Mauss's theory of magic it is because objective analysis of the facts of Sarakatsani magic, without the previous assumption of a theoretical position, has led us to conclusions similar to his--a fact which demonstrates the validity of this important theory. However, between the interpretation of this magic and the explanation that Mauss proposes for magic in general there are certain differences that we wish to make clear.

First of all, there is the problem of the process by which rites are formed and of the belief in magic effectiveness. It is obvious that Mauss vacillates among three different methods. He speaks of /315/ social consent, of public opinion, of states of collective exaltation. But the truth is that these solutions do not correspond to the demands of the problem. Consent as such is much too lifeless a procedure to be acceptable as creating the belief in magic, an area too unsettling, shot through with too many tumultuous psycho-social currents to be thought of as dominated by agreements. One clings to magic almost unconsciously after profound vibrations, and not by giving it one's consent. Moreover, from the sociological point of view, we cannot very well see how a society can succeed in obtaining the consent of all its members on a certain question, and how this decision remains valid for subsequent generations. We believe that this formula of Mauss' derives more from a vivid style than

/315 cont./
789 from his known concern for precision. With regard to public opinion,
114 our comments are more or less the same. Opinions are probable beliefs,
whereas the belief in magic is a strong, firm, unshakable belief leading
to acts that are sometimes painful and arduous; simple opinion would
never be in a position to motivate them. Finally, states of collective
exaltation are not frequent and do not pertain to all magic. Among the
Sarakatsani, specifically, perhaps excepting the dance of Pure Monday,
it does not arouse and do not seems to be prompted by states of
collective exaltation.

789 On the other hand, if we take the perspective of the myth, we see
773 immediately that the latter is in a position to impose itself without
114 asking the consent of anyone, that it inspires belief by its very nature,
778 that it covers at the same time with the same effectiveness and the same
effects, instances of exaltation or of simple collective emotions. Likewise,
myth enables us to cope with the thorny problem of mana which becomes
particularly acute when we try to explain the Sarakatsani kind of magic
in which we have found nothing even remotely suggesting the existence of
mana. One of two things /is true/: either this is magic without "mana"
and one must seek elsewhere to justify it; or it is magic in which mana
has been forgotten, and one must then find the entity that has replaced
it. On this last point we might propose that it is tradition or inertia
which, in the absence of mana, continue to sustain magic. But the critical
mind of man /316/ would not be satisfied with the authority of tradition;
and social inertia is a convenient expression that obscures the problem
and is incompatible with reality. What is called inertia is only a
dynamic equilibrium of society. If we now introduce myth in the analysis
of these phenomena, we can understand that the notion of mana is not
indispensable to magic, since myth, by definition, is "an extremely
efficient agent in magic judgment," to use the language of Mauss. Myth
can create magic by itself and replace the forgotten mana. And, what is

/316 cont./

789 more, mana as such needs myth to create belief in it. We venture to
773 believe that this last point fills a gap which neither emotion, nor
114 need, nor hope, nor illusion are in a position to fill. Magic is not
778 a disposition of mind or the soul. It is a cultural product, crystallized, objectified, permanent, which, created once and for all, thereafter leads an autonomous life with respect to the motivations, mental states and methods that lie at its origins. Thus it needs a stable source of support other than the precarious situations that have given it birth. It is the same with other products of the mind, knowledge which is based on truth, art on beauty, morality on goodness, etc. etc. For magic, this source of support is myth. Nevertheless, we would be unjust to the great scholar and orignator of ideas that M. Mauss was if we did not metion that, well after his theory, he himself, in a statement included in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Sociologie of 9 June 1933, made the following remark: "The great effort that we made in the study of ritual lacks balance because we did not make a corresponding effort for mythology." (117)

117. Quoted in M. Leenhardt: Do Kamo, p. 9

789 There remains for us to consider one of the last great theories
114 elucidating magic thought, that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. His main idea was the princple of participation, based on the specific mentality of primitives.

According to this author's Carnets posthumes to which we refer because this text represents the final stage in the evolution of his thinking, participation "is a consubstantiality, a communion, a very identity (identity-duality) between /317/ beings and objects. This intimate relation, so characteristic, between these beings and these objects is not generally represented. It is felt; but the objects themselves are represented" (p. 138). Always, according to him, participation is marked "by participation = essential community," identity felt between what participates and what is "participated in" (p. 141), and by

/317 cont./

789 "participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization
114 in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consunstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One
[124] of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our
[825] questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically,
in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

/317 cont./

789 114 essential to this experience in which emotion suppresses rationality /318/ and common sense. Mythical and sometimes magical would often fit better" (p. XV). We believe that this thought of Leenhardt's, which relates to the demands of the problem, at once ontological and methodological, renders unnecessary any other critical evaluation on our part. Moreover, when the Sarakatsani proceed with the formation or acceptance of their mythologies, their immediate experiences are not mystical, but mythical. The terminology of Lévy-Bruhl confuses the outlook and obscures the reality of our problem.

Nevertheless, as was the case with Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl has clearly felt the importance of myth to the phenomena in question. However, he has oriented his observations toward the non-conceptual character of mythical thinking, its fluidity, its recreational value, etc., (118) (pp. 73-74), without trying to go further.

118. An idea very close to that of Plato: *Timée* /Timaeus/, 59 edition.

These critical reflections on the theories enumerated do not exhaust the problem. We are thinking, particularly, of the theories that explain magic by psychoanalysis, which propose solutions in keeping with that discipline. (119)

119. These interpretations have been harshly criticized by anthropologists such as Malinowski: *Moeurs et Coutumes*... p. 101, and C. Lévi-Strauss: *Anthropologie*...p. 229.

789 121 We shall deliberately remain outside this circle of ideas, for neither our training nor the way in which we have conducted the enquiry permit us to enter this domain.

Yet these same critical reflections constitute a supplementary justification for our terminology. All through our analysis we have carefully avoided using the traditional terminology of magic, as for

/318 cont./
789 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc.,
121 as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for
example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto
/a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific
meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different
from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating
misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts
its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence
is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it.
In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling,
economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others
that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space
[822] into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill-
(823) omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams,
crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil
82 (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure
acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the
performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance,
the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral,
vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer
emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework
of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective
shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs,
grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats,
donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

/319 cont./
789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be.
Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber,
iron); elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red
and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani
to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
751 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain
cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of
hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example,
the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger
of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the
disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor
will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful.
Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces
optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to
work is no longer isolated (120) but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with
assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a
concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth,
(121) which increases productivity.

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120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

/320 cont./

789 121. Of course, in connection with another society.
182 See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland
152 /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar
154 idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes,
pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/
Magic.

789 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of know-
182 ledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior,
789 statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual
[562] and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women
[554] includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders
182 its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a
[571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

/321 cont./

789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even
more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups
and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.

562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family
prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and
finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil
spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon
Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the
domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced
sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of
the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves.
(122)

[291] 122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them
and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are
distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties
immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who
are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms;
462 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
233
791

789 562 462 [233] [791]

/322 cont./
the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. [182] The potential conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

789 554 182

Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [788] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

788 789 /322 cont./
554 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
182 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
[851) the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[848) her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[585) publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[604) bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[844) means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428) head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious,
of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants
recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
596 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In
studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/323 cont./

182 554 596 788 families and the Tsέligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers, thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

* * * *

789 182 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The
121 study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating
128 certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity
771 and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

[182] The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates
789 Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will
182 show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious
178 practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

- 771 /326 cont./
789 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints
182 in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this
178 threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must
now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day
[178] and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated
in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding
chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not
spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and
788 professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle
462 human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is
(778) the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out
(771) for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours)
(484) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then
sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock,
the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular
function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the
Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a
788 means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy
783 water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement
778 to fertility and abundance.

778 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons,
783 to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the
influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday.
Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/326 cont./

796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tselígato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next
796
775 morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers.
(532) Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts,
(533) singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

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1. K. A. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ : Λαϊκαὶ Λατρεῖαι..., p. 188, note 1. — Γ. ΜΕΓΑΣ Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 148.

(171) --It is a custon found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/327 cont./

796 775 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 775 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
789 must be blessed--*tsandilès*, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
[769] (*hiéron*) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead," is filled with bread, *kolyva* (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the *tsandilès*) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[illegible] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
[531] brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[788] this day the Orthodox Church holds a serviceand a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ; during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

/328 cont./

796 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
533 catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[532] [474] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[596] the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
796 selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

178 2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

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3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : 'Ο Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. [illegible] : 'Ο Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. [illegible].

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

771 drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the
776 form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated.
177 But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have
178 proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient
religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival
from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality
of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic
796 Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among them-
771 selves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author
has reported to us), (4) because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate
in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does
[793] not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the
administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the
religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an
act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

796 There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from
789 each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the
[596] Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for
[474] sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than
(765) religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the
konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the
official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the
women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the
former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

128 The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt
796 here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

4. Ibid., p. ρξβ'

/330 cont./

796 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.
128 Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make
796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their
789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have
182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects
contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of
production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed,
which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual
of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces
will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that
are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor
malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts
based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by
religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces
and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces
is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation
(concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of
homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines
811 the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the
magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the
811 same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything
777 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part
[773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge,
(789) progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the
same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called
upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted
and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/321 cont./

771 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

811 5. External and internal causality in the
177 sociological explanation, see R. Bastide
in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

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796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

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554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light.

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554 The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

/331 cont./

796 474 the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the
554 lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women
[788] [252] do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial
[596] character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or
the Tséligas.

796 Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals
[776] of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered
[474] protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion
[554] of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the
[574] *konakia* and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival
[782] of the *stani*, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the
Tséligato.

796 This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos
782 are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of
474 confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by
596 promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity,
776 at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles,
[554] lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which
"is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is
obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course,
the festival of the *stani* is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's
anniversary.

796 In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to
755 read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or
782 a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense,
[252] candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the
door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on
[262] the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

796 /332 cont./
755 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming
782 to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

262 Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb
796 262 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that,
585 in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which
795 we shall speak later on.

764 The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very
782 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death
196 of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word *courbani* or the Greek
thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the
term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any
(114) animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation,
very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three
hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.
It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an
immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new
782 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals
171 at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a
new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure
his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

/334 cont./

782 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the
182 attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may
771 be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. ρμς'), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes
[114] totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality.
782 R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in
771 particular that "the only cases known of the totemic repast
171 are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Ἑλληνικὴ Λαϊκὴ Λατρεία, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolégomena, p. 84.

/334 cont./

782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
771 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity. They have
[177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to
that which we have described in the context of practices of the first
category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called
"folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just
been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases,
even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning
is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is
more pronounced.

/335/

FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in
which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere,
perched behind our ears." (1)

1. *Ibid.*, A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

~/335 cont./

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764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

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[605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

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834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

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[589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white *velentza* (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

> 13. M. Eliade, in *Images et Symboles*, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: *La crainte des morts*, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and
[533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to
(152) weep loudly and sing the *mirolia* (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their
[602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered
[302] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The
(291) mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first
(178) because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

/336 cont./

765 Obviously, all these manifestations are social and not religious.
152 They are based on the social control of feelings, the regulation of
626 their intensity and their externalization. /337/ A widow's mourning
[562] is the external mark of her status, since, as we have said, the status of the woman must always be apparent. And if she mourns for life it is because the loss of her husband means for her, and in the scale of Sarakatsani social values, an inestimable loss which she must forever regret.

775 MAN IN THE BEYOND.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.--GHOSTS.

The Sarakatsani believe that after death man continues to live, but an existence as different from earthly life as from that assumed by Christianity.

The soul lives spiritually, but also anthropomorphically. And the dead person may become a ghost. The idea of resurrection exists. But for the Sarakatsani the cycle of life complies more with non-Christian beliefs.

775 On the mouth of the deceased a silver coin or a trinket is placed, so
764 that he has the wherewithal to pay his passage to Hades--a reminiscence of the ancient practice of paying Charon to cross the Styx. If he does not have the means of paying, he will be destined for the nether regions.

Next to the corpse, and again on the basis of non-Christian beliefs, are placed cigarettes, apples, oranges, candy, combs, small pocket mirrors, etc. These objects will serve for his own use in the beyond. The fruits are gifts for those who died before him, and the donors add oral messages or messages written on pieces of paper. However, if the deceased is old, these objects are not placed on his deathbed. Next to men, their shepherd's crook is placed. Next to women, their distaff.

/337 cont./

764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so
[152] that he will not get up." (14)

(171) 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338 / the sadness of
(182) the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the
repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man
of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when
condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may
[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take
[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

764 /338 cont./
775 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate
[776] of representation which determines magic action.
[825] The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead
775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer
the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but
his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in
a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life"
since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall,
[596] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the
extended family (pp. 174-175).

771 These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity,
775 according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme
Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not
by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in
[764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and
the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either in-
dividually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We
[182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and
ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for
775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani,
764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into
religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of
forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be
dealt with later.

/339 cont./

775 PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the [171] Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

775 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in 776 magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior 789 and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

[764] During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon [272] "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

764 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate 789 is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the 783 contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

[823] The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several [171] regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. [761] It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, [771] but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

764 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and 775 looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

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775 /339 cont./
776 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
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789 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)

823 16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased.
The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the
orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)
--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing
the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish
priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes
a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this
occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table
on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the
dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the
eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break,
saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary,
at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at
twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[784] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[302] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[515]
[761]
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17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson:
Ἑλλην. Λαϊκὴ Λατρεία. pp. 28-29 goes back to classical
antiquity. It is connected with the festival of
Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
(783) distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
(841) term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
(833) have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
(515) those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596) preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute
/the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the
forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively
and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to
that of men.

[178) Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-
Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas,
but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia);
woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia);
resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are
harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life.
The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these
acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of
representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to
disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782) the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[775) which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

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SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain holidays, etc. [474] [554] [688] The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/342 cont./

771 796 Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to
474 church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents
596 the carrying-out of this duty.

771 179 /343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage,
death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is
771 114 127 required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

585 764 and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

353 778

Fig. 108

771 /343 cont./

177 19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

114 the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with
585 burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal
764 union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and
without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside
771 cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his
177 ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure,
so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building
of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the
holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

771 But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani
764 religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last
775 sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge with-
788 out having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society
prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is
kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and
partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism
of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection
with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

771 To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the
773 pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the
186 time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us
whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity,
the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

771 Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts
177 seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no
(793) Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us
by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice!
(538) Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing
(539) the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:
(186)

/344 cont./

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186 --During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:
539 Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four"
177 (the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who
[764] barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

771 There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and
186 social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile
177 or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling
829 hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

/345 cont./
771 who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand,
186 since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the
177 Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism
829 with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend
[427] themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have
represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another
539 kind and very significant for our point of view.

177 --One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are
829 about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion.
He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

> You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
> even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

/346 cont./

771 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively
181 and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an
829 expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is
157 not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)
781 20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them
[774] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in parti-
771 cular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above
157 all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere,
[182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ′ f.,
776 maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation
114 of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

/347 cont./

771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
776 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
771 this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justifi-
796 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
776 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
114 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
171 Saint Paraskevi appear. Now, within the framework of
Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries. This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
'Ελληνικαί 'Εορταί, index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p.ρλζ') that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism. It is called upon to make up for this lack.

/347 cont./

771 182 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

771 462 562 182 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women who are charged with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

771 596 182 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the *kolyva* in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the *psychoúdia*, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

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Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

/349 cont./

811 Control over nature, handling of men, these are the two principal poles around which Sarakatsani knowledge revolves, always oriented toward practical ends.

Knowledge of the world and the human condition, within the limits of the visible and the invisible, these are the poles of attraction in Sarakatsani mythical thinking, likewise oriented toward the solution of practical problems.

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157 The study of their magic and their religion has sufficiently prepared us to understand that the Sarakatsani is not an intellectual, a metaphysician, or quite simply an inquisitive person. His cognitive approach is always motivated by the problems of daily life. The disinterested contemplative attitude is foreign to him.

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773 Furthermore, this attitude has enabled us to see that once the Sarakatsani has reached the limits of his knowledge, he resorts to myth whenever he wishes to go further.

Thus, knowledge and myth are on a par. That is the reason we have classified their examination under the same heading.

128 The outline of this chapter will include considerations of knowledge, myth, and the manner in which they are transmitted, hence of education and the communication of knowledge.

SARAKATSANI KNOWLEDGE AND ITS LIMITS

811 Sarakatsani knowledge, the totality of "mental acts in which immediate and mediated experience is combined in different degrees, and the judgments and acts affirming the validity of /350/ the truth about something," according to the definition of G. Gurvitch, (1)

1. See G. Gurvitch: Sociologie de la connaissance in Traité, vol. II, p. 121 f.

is already familiar to us. We have found it incorporated in their technology, in their socio-economic organization, their law, their morality

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge [128] which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[177] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into

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two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of the "plains" (chimadià) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghàlata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (aràdhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

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The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

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The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

/350 cont./

805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near
the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal
pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.

825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild
animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

759 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.

752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics
and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the
practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
757 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,

/351 cont./
757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in
front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on
the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite
upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise
must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him.
After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot
and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation
[237] with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer
applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of
a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol,
sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in
succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are
evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not
during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of
lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

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128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas
about Sarakatsani knowledge.

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828 KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE NATURE AND PHYSIOLOGY OF MEN AND ANIMALS.

811 This knowledge has its source in the observation of nature and of
(153) life, in experience and in reasoning based on common sense. Knowledge thus takes shape which accumulates in the course of time and is transmitted by tradition from one generation to the other.

811 We are not unaware that, according to certain theorists, technology
114 is not founded on true knowledge, for the "primitive" does not conceptualize reality, and causality /353/ is foreign to him. (2)

> 2. See G. Davey: *Sociologues d'hier*..., p. 228 f., presenting theories of L. Lévy-Bruhl: *La mentalité primitive* pp. 93 and 350-351, who says that technology is intuition and instinct, action for a particular occasion.--*D'Espinas: Origines de la technologie*, p. 47, asserting that the tool is an extension of the worker's limbs and that he never thinks of its effectiveness.--L. Brunschvicg: *L'expérience humaine et la causalité physique*, p. 92, proposing that the non-civilized order (hunting, fishing, herding, manufacture) without being able to conclude that this confidence is actually an outcropping of his consciousness.--Goldenweiser: *Early civilisation* /cited in English/, pp. 406-407 who speaks of an independence of technical progress in relation to intellectual progress. For him, the logic of technology is a logic of nature, unconsciously imposed on the human mind by action.

But none of these theories seems to us acceptable, and not only in the Sarakatsani case, but for all human culture. From the moment man intervenes and acts on matter by transforming it according to his own wishes to useful ends andon the basis of physical properties, it is impossible

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811 114 for us not to grant him the existence of a certain number of thoughts verified or inspired by experience, about his action To bend or harden a piece of wood by heating it comes neither from automatic instinct nor from simple observation. The latter is blind when it is not guided by intelligence. Likewise, it is impossible to believe that technical activity, like all other activities, does not affect intellectual progress. The life of man cannot be divided into compartments. His different "experiences" act on each other, homo faber /man the maker/ exerting his influence on homo sapiens /man the knower/ and the reverse. (3)

3. See, for example, A.-J. Piaget: La psychologie de l'intelligence, pp. 139-141 and passim.

We know very well that the concepts and ideas of the "primitive" are different from those which cause science to advance. But between instinct or automatism and scientific conceptualization there is no lack of intellectual life; an intellecutal life is exhibited there which truly merits this name, as is shown by the existence of effective, directed, consciously deliberate action. Of course, this intellectual life does not have the same breadth and effectiveness as science: it is none the less of the same nature as the intellectual, creative life of scientific knowledge, though its modalities are different. We have the impression (perhaps erroneous) that the authors cited have never had occasion to follow closely the working technique of a "primitive" and to discuss it with him. It is obvious that technology rests on understanding, the whole of which constitutes a sort of knowledge.

/354/ Knowledge, the bearers of which, as far as these nomads are concerned, are all the Sarakatsani. Its very creation occurs collectively. Borrowing the terminology of Gurvitch, but partly disagreeing with him on the forms in which this knowledge appears, (4)

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> 4. See G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 128-219, /who/ says that technical knowledge is more intuitive than reflective, more symbolic than effective. Now, we do not see the techniques of our herders as based on intuition and symbolism.

we should say that it is rational, reflective and adequate. That is exactly what makes it effective.

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND COLLECTIVE LIFE.

829 Our nomads are conscious of what they are and of the detailed aspects of their life, as their socio-economic organization, their law and their morality well show. They also know that they are 829 186 different from the "others," a fact which justifies their rules of marriage, the prohibition of relations with other nomads, their mistrust of surrounding society--though they are linked to them on the national level.

Observation and experience, and even common sense also nourish these perceptions, the influence of which on individual and collective behavior is certain. Of course, ideological and mythical elements, that we are already familiar with appear here once again, expressed in the opinion that they form of themselves, sublimating /sic: en sublimant/ their qualities and their way of life, which is the best of all, and in their attitudes toward non-Sarakatsani, /which is/ full of contempt, mistrust, suspicion, repugnance (the peasants, prostrate before the Turk, are always ready "to swindle the innocent Sarakatsani"; the Koutsovalaque "smell bad"; literally they are "rotten" /des salauds/; "if you see a Koutsovalaque prepare his grave for him," they say). The internal dynamic of their own group and the relations of their group with others is clearly reflected here.

829 562 Furthermore, the know-how of the men plays a very important role

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829 562 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially [596] the heads of families and of the Tsėligato, ensures the cohesion of [424] the group and its good functioning.
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On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
[811] reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
[562] guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
[177] benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
[361] tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

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121 5. See C. Lévi-Strauss: *La pensée sauvage*, p. 32.

811 one could not do without if one hopes to enter this domain. In order that science may develop, J. Piaget says, (6)

6. J. Piaget: *Epistémologie*, vol. III, p. 261. --See also the same author: *Traité de Logique* /Treatise on logic/, passim, and the comments of R. Bastide: *Le Candomblé*, pp. 240-241.

the human mind relies on classifications of reality, organized "into systems of concrete operation," which are translated into propositions, into hypotheses. Observation and experience ensure contact of the latter with reality. Next, one advances with the help of the "logic of propositions, joining concrete operations by means of new operations of implication or exclusion among propositions... "

811 /356/ In the case of the Sarakatsani, the classifications of realtiy to which the new operations lead have a double nature. First, we find once again *mythical classifications*. The different parts of reality are classed as wholes, not according to the principles of a scientific typology of phenomena, but in terms of mythical considerations. 811 There are many examples. Let us take the division of the world into 772 two parts: favorable and unfavorable, to which correspond other dichotomies dealing with the different aspects of life, namely:

Favorable	Unfavorable
East	West
Right	Left
Religious	Black magic
Curative magic	Obscure forces and influences
Life	Death
Health	Illness
Fecundity	Sterility
Birth of sons	Birth of daughters
Birth of ewes	Birth of rams
Fertility	Drought
Prosperity	Insolvency
Freedom	Slavery of imprisionment

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Peace	War
Attraction	Antipathy (repugnance)
Luck	Ill luck
Lucky days	Unlucky days

811 Another example may be given by dividing the world into those which can be influenced by that is tangible, as against parts based solely on the influence of creative forces. A third /example/ invites [773] elements that can be included in a single category with reference to their operational symbolic significance based on myth. That is the case with the elements--symbols of fecundity, moon, earth, water, woman, snake, death, grain--united in the mother-goddess belief. Each magic theme or operation can furnish us a category of the same kind.

Next, comes a second category of classifications of a rational order corresponding to techniques, to herding, to material conditions of life, etc., in which logic, experience, causality predominate. The question that arises in connection with these /357/ is to know whether they do or do not favor the development of knowledge. Now, their nature inclines us to reply in the affirmative. But they present another aspect which prompts us to deny them this role. These classifications, built up in a pragmatic hence limited perspective, relate only to a limited number of phenomena. Considered as tools aimed at developing scientific knowledge, they are not sufficiently rich (7) even to explain properly the phenomena they are concerned with. All the more are they therefore unsuited to explaining the world in general, or even to help in explaining it.

Having recognized the socio-cultural obstacles to knowledge, we are faced with a situation that we may define in the following manner: the Sarakatsani social framework does not favor the development of

7. See analogous remarks in D. Essertier: Formes inférieures, pp. 144-145.

/357 cont./

811 knowledge. Nor does the structure of their thinking. The latter is not independent of the framework. If the framework would favor knowledge, the Sarakatsani would be in a position to proceed to classifications of reality more adequate than those they possess, and even to replace myth and mythical classifications with knowledge and rational classifications. For, it is necessary to recognize that [773] myth represents a solution. It fills the gaps that knowledge leaves behind.

[773] Nevertheless, these last assertions seem to beg the question about the role of myth and the relations of myth to knowledge, which we have [128] accepted without verifying them. This is the task we shall now undertake.

MYTH AS A COMPLEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

773 538 At first glance this heading may seem strange in view of the fact that myth, seen from the outside, is merely an account found in "oral literature" (8) or in religion rather than in connection with means of

8. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Le Totémisme, p. 14, presenting tha various meanings of myth: "It is a category of our thinking that we use arbitrarily to assemble under the same term attempts to explain natural phenomena, works of oral literature, philosophical speculations and cases of the emergence of a linguistic process to the consciousness of the subject." --G. Sorel: Réflexions...Introduction, pp. 39-45 and G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 124, designate as myth the idea which certain social groups, social classes or global societies have of their situation; this idea calls into action and brings about a situation.

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538 See also Vol. XXXIII/62 of C.I.d.S., passim, dealing with myth.

cognition. /358/ In order to justify the heading we must analyze myth, look at it from the inside.

* * * *

121 Cosmological or anthropological myth is not all an imaginary or arbitrary tale, as is generally believed. It is a totality of statements expressed symbolically whose roots are buried in a profound vibration of the total man faced with the natural or human universe and endeavoring to discover the origins of the latter, its evolution, its inner working. (9)

9. See A. Jensen: Mythes et Cultes, p. 83, M. Leenhardt: Do Camo, p. 226, C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie, pp. 228 and 225, R. Thurnwadt: L'esprit humain, p. 136.--On the symbolic form of myth, R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 281.

Reason plays only a partial role in this drama, and often after the event. Thus, myth constitutes an area where man and the universe meet. There results from it /the meeting/ a specific image of the world, the external form of the myth. (10)

10. M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 248, "myth is felt and experienced before being comprehended intellectually and formulated." We concur with this statement. That is why we have accepted mythic transmission in the magic of the Sarakatsani, despite the fact that they have forgotten mythology, at least in the form of a coherent account.

In order to form the statements of myth man does not proceed from concepts "but from perceptions /"percepts?/, images, events and fragments of

/358 cont./

events." (11) He does not use logico-causal, discursive or analytical thought, but an intuition through which he seeks to discover the primary causes of reality. The relationships to which he proceeds, develop with the help of analogical or anthropomorphic reasoning, but after his intimate contacts with the world have been realized. Thus the groups of ideas which he attains do not constitute /359/ "operational groups" similar to those one finds at the core of knowledge.

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11. See C. Lévi-Strauss: *La pensée sauvage*, p. 27 f. We find in the author's work a comparative analysis of myth and science. --From another point of view M. Leenhardt: *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171, gives us a very interesting description of the way in which myth surrounds its object starting from perception. However, this author maintains that myth is a product "of affective, objectivized thinking." In our opinion, it emanates from the "total psyche" in which, of course, affectivity is included. We believe that Leenhardt's qualification of mythic thinking as affective is due to the fact that it goes beyond rationality and discovers the roots or myth in the life force, and why R. Bastide: *Ibid.*, p. 281, while citing Bergson, says that "the root of myth is always instinctive." Yet it is necessary to recognize that R. Bastide introduces further the idea that the "social" exerts an influence on myth, but /he does so/ in order to explain its proliferation and without going further. With regard to the point of departure of myth C. Levi-Strauss: *Ibid.*, pp. 354-357 believes he is able to find it in "the messages," according to the theory of information. This hypothesis requires extended verification before being accepted.

/359 cont./

121 Myth never proceeds to demonstrate its statements. Yet it imposes them. That is because it does not address itself solely to reason, but to the totality of the human psyche. When man finds himself at an impasse in trying to solve a vital problem, myth offers him an image of the world, created by himself in his own way, an image which exerts on man an influence liberating him from his distress, which is caused by the unknown and by his suffering. Myth explains only by recreating reality. At the same time it inspires the conviction that what it states is true. For it is in a position to satisfy both the soul and the mind. From this point of view one may compare myth with the great works of art which, without proving anything, liberate man by foretelling the world and his destiny.

In a very large number of cases, cosmological myth is bound up with religion. (12)

12. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieux, pp. 52-57. Without wishing to take a stand on the problem so much discussed in its relation to "the sacred," we shall remark merely that religions also include cosmologies and that consequently there is here an area where knowledge, myth and religion meet.

Now, these points seem radically to separate myth from rational and positive knowledge adequately expressed. But on the other hand, it is true that these same points, bring myth extraordinarily close to intuitive knowledge expressed in a symbolic or significant form.

That is not all. Though it is certain that knowledge and myth are not identical, it is likewise certain that knowledge and myth converge, each in its own way, toward an explanation of the universe. There is thus between them a correspondence of aim.

These two conclusions, however, are not a sufficient basis for definitively associating myth and knowledge within the framework and

/359 cont./

121 on behalf of our initial hypothesis. It is still necessary to examine their reciprocal relations as they develop in the life of the mind.

* * * *

/360/ We can first show relations of opposition between knowledge and myth. Their respective conclusions are opposed insofar as they are categorical judgments of reality. Hence arises the problem of knowing which will prevail: knowledge or myth?

In a general way, observation shows that with each new conquest of knowledge, myth recedes further. Yet, as we have seen in connection with magic practices, it surrounds with its prestige the favorable results of knowledge and thus makes knowledge socially more effective. In this connection one may ask whether the term "myth" does not change its meaning when one goes from the first to the second of these assertions. Myth which gives way to knowledge is cosmological or anthropological myth. Myth supporting knowledge is a social myth in the sense described in magic. But this difference in quality does not correspond to a difference in its profound nature. If myth permits man to place himself in relation to the world and to find encouragement, confidence and security, it is easy to agree that the myth-support of knowledge fulfills the same functions. However, instead of creating an image and addressing itself to forces of other entities more of less personified, in order to explain the world, this myth places at the center of its statements the idea of an all-powerful science capable of explaining and dominating the world and consequently of relieving man of the burden of his problems. It is not the criticism of the possibilities of science which impels toward the birth of scientific myth, but the psycho-social factors which we have examined in connection with magic. These factors are so powerful that we see eminent scholars who should by definition be aware of the limits of science, adhere without reservation to scientific myth. (13)

/360 cont./

121 13. Jensen: Ibid., p. 48, gives the example of M. Planck.

Between these two kinds of myth there is therefore a difference of constituent elements, but once the elements of scientific myth yield to the process of "mythization," these two kinds become identical.

However, there remains the sociological aspect. The final outcome in the opposition of knowledge and myth is dependent on the sociocultural context. Also of the kind of knowledge. If the context is favorable to knowledge, hence to rational thinking, /361/ knowledge will assert itself. If not, it is mythical thinking that will take precedence. History furnishes a number of examples of antagonism and competition between myth and knowledge, which, basically, is conveyed and manifested in the conflict of their bearers, of social groups with opposing ideological core, the one group being dominated by myth, the other by knowledge. The victory of one of the rivals will mark the victory of their ideology. Furthermore, insofar as new knowledge does not radically upset the existing social structure, it is readily accepted. If not, myth will resist. It will appear conservative. For the traditional social framework, concerned about its own duration and using myth as a solid support, is hostile to any change that would endanger the latter.

Nevertheless, the relationships between knowledge and myth are not exhausted in their mutual opposition. Myth very often profits from the success of knowledge. It utilizes knowledge to construct its own edifice by integrating knowledge within itself. Yet before using the latter it reinterprets it in its own way, to conform with its internal or external coherence. In the same way, knowledge profits from ideas and intuitions included in myth, in order to formulate its own working hypotheses.

/361 cont./

121 Myth never contradicts experience. In all cases in which it sets forth propositions that are not verifiable by experience or are contrary to experience, the phenomena that it evokes unfold in a specific context in which "all is possible." Consequently, it never results in non-sense which would repudiate it.

Now, this rapid survey of the relations of myth and knowledge shows that they obey a dialectic which not only includes an opposition of these terms, but also mutual involvements, complementarities and reciprocities of perspective, depending on the specific context in which they are integrated and to which they refer.

Having said this, it becomes obvious that myth and knowledge are not always incompatable and opposed, but that they cooperate closely in the life of the mind.

This assertion enables us to affirm, by recapitulating all our remarks on myth and knowledge, that the first may be considered a complement of the second. Furthermore and particularly, that both, while preserving their respective peculiarities, /362/ basically represent two phases of the same process, that which leads to a grasp of the world. (14)

14. It is significant that G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 122 and 126, speaking of kinds and forms of knowledge, does not give any room to "mythic" knowledge. However, he introduces it when he describes systems of knowledge in patriarchal societies such as the society of the Sarakatsani, qualifying it as "prosaic" (p. 128). We find the same qualification elsewhere: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 460, in connection with the same type of society. "Although the patriarch is at the same time priest, neither religion nor magic enter deeply into the life of these societies; in calm periods one may observe that their function is very

/362 cont./

> 121 prosaic...while at the same time very much a matter of routine." However, Abraham and the prophets of Israel struggled continually with Jahveh, the Achaians argued and lived side by side with the gods, the nymphs, etc., our Sarakatsani constantly summon up their magic. Besides, we cannot agree that Hebraic, Greek or Roman mythology was a prosaic mythology. Hence daily life was not prosaic either as far as it was guided by mythology. This is not to say that the "secular" aspects does not exist. It is only a matter of giving it its true proportions.

It remains to be seen whether these conclusions are applicable in the Sarakatsani case.

* * * *

[189] [182] As a matter of fact, in analyzing their magic, we have seen that, since their knowledge is limited, the Sarakatsani have recourse to magic ritual in order to enlarge their field of action. We have likewise seen how rational thought and myth go together for practical ends, how they cooperate and structure one another to explain and dominate phenomena such as fecundity, fertility, birth, death, sickness, health, prosperity, etc. In short, we have understood how Sarakatsani intelligence and experience, on the one hand, and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess, on the other hand, combine in their magic ideas, forming their pragmatic cosmology and anthropology. We therefore need not repeat this. However, the whole of this account testifies to the complementarity of myth and knowledge among the Sarakatsani.

* * * *

This phenomenon is, moreover, universal. (15)

/362 cont./

121 15. Thus M. Leenhardt: *Ibid*., p. 243, who, although starting from another experience, arrives at the same conclusion.

It is part of the human function that is commonly designated by the term "understanding". It presupposes neither a specific mentality nor a strictly traditional social framework. As long as there are /363/ problems that knowledge will not solve, and there will always be such, myth will make its appearance beside them.

Examples abound. We find them in the dialogues of Plato, wherever Socrates, the analyst without equal, seeks to grasp entities inaccessible to the *logos*. (16)

16. P. M. Schuhl: *La fabulation platonicienne,* passim.

We find them in "technicized" societies where science and technology advance side by side with social, political, governmental, historical myths promising to render life paradisical, side by side with miraculous therapies, with astrologers and fortune-tellers, spiritualism and Christian Science.

The marriage of rational thinking and myth is characteristic of man and will disappear only with him.

The Sarakatsani, profiting both from rational thinking and mythical thinking, is, in the final analysis, simply obeying the make-up of the human mind.

EDUCATION

86 The term "education" is taken here to mean communication and transmission of knowledge and of myth, the complement of knowledge. Now, as we know, it is direct and daily personal contact of youth with their elders (brothers, parents, grandparents) which ensures the transmission of knowledge during, and in connection with, common work, discussions, narratives, festivals, etc. (17)

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that
212 the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write
[554] and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction
[875] given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend
[562] a few weeks in the konakia.

871 But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in
212 particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the use-
233 fulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning,
596 but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within
474 the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas.
[461] During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm
and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

53 The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it
must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double
point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the
789 magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter
and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany
[178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the
ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The
works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under
conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the
789 group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the
533 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual
585 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the
[531] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in
[535]
[538]

/366 cont./

789 533 which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed,
585 dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must
[531] experience, (2)

[535] [538] 2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539)
--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539)
--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

/366 cont./

789 company sings in her name and addresses the companions
533 of the fiance:

> 585 --My new friends, do not hurry
> (539) Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
> (my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples
of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the
53 peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of
789 magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning
of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because
the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

53 The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation,
178 amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the
general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are
tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it,
and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to
533 give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is
a group of songs which includes:

Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental
songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and
[648) the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed
themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love.
Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to
be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was
given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies,"
which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

/367 cont./

533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

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[177] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

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461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

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461
233
[534] A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the

[114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic

533
233 ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

/368 cont./

533 recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive
[235] music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous,
emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies
in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of
the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it
(152) they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the
player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able
to exert such an influence on feeling.

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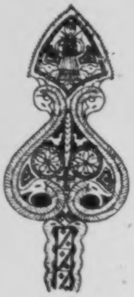

Fig. 104

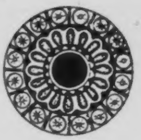

Fig. 105

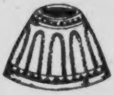

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

531 4. Madame Hadjimichali: _Ibid_., t. I, vol. II, pp.
532 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden
114 sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series
of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the
art of our herders and gives excellent comments on
the morphology of the decorated objects. This part
(178) of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

531 /368 cont./

532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.

178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

/370 cont./

53 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other
178 source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In
517 the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic
517 which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of
462 division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked
561 elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do
152 not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

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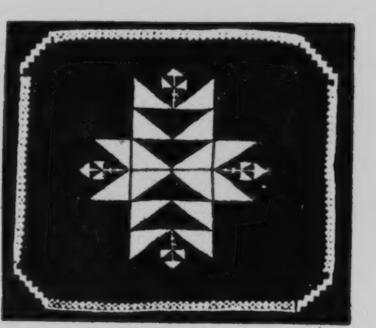

Fig. 107

/371 cont./

53 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place
152 they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song
533 which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:
539 --My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
152 --You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:

533 --The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
539 They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchepélovo spoke the following lines to us:

[124] "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with
[539] the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

/372 cont./

000 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

* * * *

534 We should like to conclude this brief chapter with a description of the musical instruments of the Sarakatsani, which are simply variations of the flute. Our herders call them tzamara and tziradi. They either make them themselves or else they buy them commercially.

[804] The tzamara is a very long flute measuring 12 "palms" (approximately 90 centimeters--the Sarakatsani use the palm of the hand as a unit of measure), made of a hollow tube of wood, more rarely of metal, pierced with several holes upon which the fingers are set to vary the frequencies. There are seven of these holes. We shall call them "main holes" to distinguish them from the others. One of the two ends of the tube is used as the mouthpiece. On the other end there are three holes arranged in a triangle which are on a line with the main holes. At the height of the first main hole, but diametrically opposite, there is an orifice that /the player's/ close with the thumb; there is another opposite the hole which forms the summit of the triangle. This last one is called "the devil's hole" because it is the "devil who conceived it," while the one stopped with the thumb is "the work of Jesus Christ." This [773] in accordance with a Sarakatsani legend that says the first tzamara was made during the resurrection of Christ. And the devil, vexed, tried to damage it by /373/ /Figure 108 appears here/ /374/ piercing it at the place we have just indicated. However, thanks to the intervention of Christ who pierced it higher up, the sound of the instrument became better and the devil burst with fury.

[533] [516] The sound of the tzarmara is soft and deep. The musician must play seated because of the length of the instrument (fig. 108) which is also called floyéra, a common name in Greece for all shepherd flutes.
/Figure 109 appears here/

3: Kabbadias--435 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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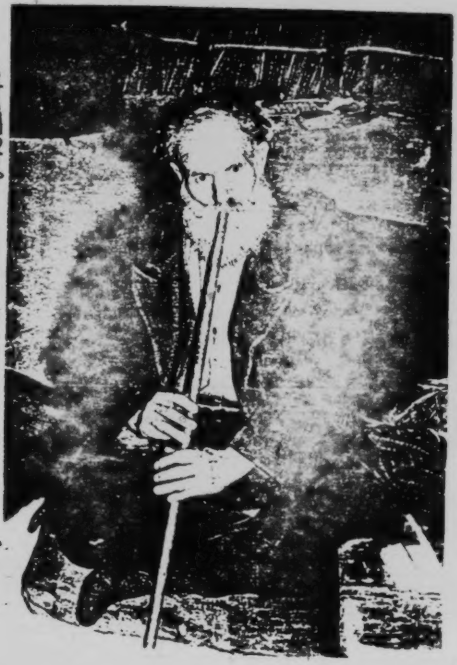

Fig. 108

/374 cont./

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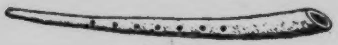

Fig. 109

The tziradi is a reduced flute, approximately 35 centimeters long. It is a portable instrument made of wood, metal or the long bones of the [237] [783] eagle (fig. 109). In the latter case the bones must remain 40 days in a church, before being used, for the birds of prey "are of the devil" and must therefore be purified. The tziradi has but seven holes, on one side only. The sound it produces is rather shrill.

Formerly, the Sarakatsani also used the bourboule, an instrument bought [178) commercially and consisting of two flutes joined. This instrument has today disappeared.

/375/

PART FOUR

/376/

REMARKS ON THE WHOLE

121 After the partial aspects, an introduction to the whole of Sarakatsani society and culture: a step all the more necessary since, in the world of socio-cultural phenomena, the whole far exceeds the simple sum of its parts.

In this section we shall not concern ourselves with what is external and apparent only secondary. We intend above all to try to fathom the inner composition, to show how the parts are concretely integrated.

But if we succeed in defining the process that leads to the integration of the parts into the whole, that is to say, in bringing to light how we pass from plurality to unity, we shall, at the same time, be in a position to explain and to understand the whole. More than that.

/376 cont./

121 It will be apparent that we shall explain the genesis of the components themselves.

It seems therefore that synthesis and explanation are on a par. They represent two aspects of a single procedure. That is the reason we shall consider them together.

This problem is not the only one that must be faced in this section. There is another at least as important: the formation of the whole necessarily involves the equilibrium of its components, an equilibuium which Sarakatsani society must maintain so as not to break up. It is therefore at the root of the problem of duration.

/377/

CHAPTER I

AN ATTEMPT AT SYNTHESIS, EXPLANATION AND DEFINITION

SOME REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY

The integration of the thousand facets of Sarakatsani society and culture into a whole immediately raises the problem of method.

In order to grasp the living reality which is a "whole," we must put a little "fluid" into our observations, as Mauss has already recommended. (1)

1. Reported by P. Metais: Problèmes de Sociologie Néo-Calédonienne, p. 47.

Which means that the way to follow is to put into dynamic correlation all the socio-cultural facts about out herders.

However, if we take for granted that the society in question is composed of a hundred components, if we take these elements as factors in the mathematical sense of the term, and if we wish to establish concretely all their possible combinations, direct or indirect, we see that the number of their reciprocal relations reaches a dizzy figure--100! factorial of 100.

The problem becomes complicated almost to infinity if we wish to move forward toward the relationships of these components with the various

/377 cont./

121 wholes they form, toward the relationships of the wholes among themselves, toward the relationships of elements and wholes with the entire society, and so on.

It is obvious that a method which wants to be "positive" and examine one by one this immense number of relationships is an impracticable method. We must therefore find another which will proceed by "abstractions."

/378/ The "types" assembled from any socio-cultural reality, representative of this reality and its parts, already constitute a solution, the effectiveness of which has been demonstrated by the works of Durkheim, M. Weber and especially G. Gurvitch.

However, though these qualitative and discontinuous "types" are very useful in the study of the process of integration of partial phenomena into various wholes and of these wholes into the entire society, they are not effective when we propose to go a little further and reach the man living in society. For they are concerned only with social phenomena and with their mutual multiple relationships, and take only incidentally into consideration the man who creates these phenomena and who, all during his life, is subject to their constraint. In an anthropological study like ours, synthesis must take place at the level of the human reality underlying the phenomena.

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OR PRINCIPLES GOVERNING SARAKATSANI LIFE.

Reality already comes to our aid. Viewing Sarakatsani society closely, we note that it seems to obey certain general principles, certain fundamental ideas which, to all appearances, are found at the basis of its creation, its peculiarities, its functioning, its regulation. These ideas are:

--Isolation and independence.

--Herding and nomadism.

121 /378 cont./

--Kinship and male preponderance.

--Cooperation and suppression of individualism.

--A communal life (solidarity--community).

--A cosmology and an anthropology based on beliefs concerning the Mother-Goddess.

--Orthodox Christianity interpreted according to previous beliefs.

But here several questions arise: 1st, Do these idea-principles really exist? Or are they a construction of our mind projected subsequently onto Sarakatsani life? 2nd, Do they govern forth above, hence capable of leading us to a solution of our problem?

From all evidence, only a close study of facts is capable /379/ of giving a satisfactory answer. Let us try therefore to put these ideas to the test of contact with reality.

IDEAS AND PHENOMENA. A CONFRONTATION.

We begin with a remark. If we wish to stick to reality and not indulge too much in abstract fragmentation, itis impossible to establish a single and unique correspondance, individualized and absolute, between an element and an idea, for the simple reason that each phenomenon is related to several ideas and that several ideas converge toward identical phenomena.

This polyvalence of phenomena and ideas is a consequence of the total character of socio-cultural phenomena; we shall therefore have to treat several elements and ideas at once--which makes it inconvenient for the economy of this text (one will often have the impression of going around in circles and repeating oneself), but also an advantage: shedding light on the organic ties existing between the parts.

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596 Now, the confrontation of phenomena and ideas leads us to the following conclusions:

Herding, kinship, cooperation and community determine the adoption of the family group, the extended family as a form of group life. They raise

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but
a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and
mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their
inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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182 /380 cont./

596 [562] even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi- [474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first [233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2) and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning 182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place, 596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that 554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in- 177 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

/381 cont./

182 602 The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families,
571 small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with
594 the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical
554 grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The
[613] statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by
the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that
for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal
family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which
involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to
the same criteria.

182 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and
594 birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the
181 values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a
distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which
182 means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special
361 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach
233 of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).
182 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it,
462 likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-
patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the
primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption
chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the
182 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are
291 influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity),
261 resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values
181 (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality -
frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines)
and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

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291 /382 cont./
261 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
181 women).

182 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
671 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani
thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and
common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules,
includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social
and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
671 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to
impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and
coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not
to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing
itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
[626] apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression
182 here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
571 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
181 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition,
family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically
represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level
of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

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As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship, cooperation, etc.). 182 812 Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

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(789)
The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity. The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

/383 cont./

182 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which
789 at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated
955 as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art,
53 specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-
789 religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in
contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send

/384 cont./

their roots into the demographic and ecological foundation, the legal and moral systems, magic, religion, knowledge, myth, art.

We may even go further and say that though a typology based on the morphological characteristics of these elements of Sarakatsani life has enabled us to classify them in our various chapters, another classification is equally possible on the basis of the ideas in question.

The ideas therefore constitute a frame of reference different from the preceding, and the phenomena may be integrated within it.

But how to explain this phenomenon?

We shall tackle this problem at its foundation.

Each element of a socio-cultural order is created on the one hand in terms of man and the human environment it must serve, and on the other hand /in terms of/ the pertinent socio-cultural or natural conditions that obtain in the context in which this phenomenon unfolds. It is therefore charged with a meaning of a socio-cultural order, emanating from the dynamic of its context, and a human meaning based on its peculiar characteristics as a means of satisfying man's needs.

However, the elements are never isolated from each other. As constellations they combine in different dialectical processes and tend to form larger wholes. Similarly, their meanings, linked together dialectically, also form wholes which are simply over-all meanings /385/ of the meanings of the elements. Consequently, they are generalizations with respect to their components. Finally, they represent the meanings of the whole of corresponding phenomena and they proceed from the dialectic integration of socio-cultural and human meanings of the elements within the wholes.

When we speak of ideas of principles, we refer to these meanings of the wholes. They appear progressively as the phenomena and the totalities of phenomenon appear, spontaneously, by trial and error or deliberately,

/385 cont./

121 but always dialectically, under the pressure of and in relation to individual or collective needs, the possibilities momentarily offered and natural or existing socio-cultural conditions.

They are therefore anterior to the phenomena, not historically, but from the standpoint of logic and meaning.

It follows that once these ideas are created, they express the phenomena (considered as their meanings) and dominate them. They are the axes on which the phenomena develop, the end points toward which they are directed.

That is why we have accepted the ideas in question as fundamental and have labelled them principles.

Sociologically speaking, these ideas have a polyvalent character. They constitute models for the arrangement, the organization and the functioning of Sarakatsani society and its elements--general models, to be sure, which inspire others more individualized and more differentiated. They also represent norms of behavior for groups and individuals, as well as moral values. Finally, they are sources of inspiration for every solution of the vital problems of our herders and consequently for their cultural works.

However, though characterized as models, norms or values, the ideas in question do not merely signalize the "levels" of models, norms and values of Sarakatsani social reality, but they also exceed them considerably. The confrontation which we introduced demonstrated that the ideas reveal the total social phenomenon of our herders from various angles and maintain with it the relationships of signifier to signified.

It seems, therefore, that the ideas enumerated constitute very important points of reference, both socio-cultural and human /386/ since they presuppose both, and that, on the basis of this fact, they prove very revealing.

/386 cont./

121 Thus, and this is our final reply to the two questions for the sake of which we deferred this reply, the ideas proposed as models integrating and actuating the phenomena, govern and dominate Sarakatsani life. And in view of their nature as "signifiers" of the wholes of phenomena, when we speak of them we speak of phenomena. They are therefore representative of the phenomena and consequently true "abstractions."

APPRAISAL OF IDEAS AS MEANS OF SYNTHESIS AND EXPLANATION.

Henceforth we can proceed from these abstractions without going over the phenomena which they summarize, hence we may circumvent the difficulties that we came up against in the beginning.

In order to carry out the synthesis we shall work on this level, in other words, we shall follow the process of integration of ideas into the "whole."

At the same time, the elucidation of this process will show us how the "whole" is formed. And what are its constituent parts, and still on the level of the ideas.

Finally, these operations are carried out on the level of man, on the human level of the corresponding phenomena. For, as we have already emphasized the ideas in question represent not only the "utilitarian" aspect of the various elements (to serve the needs of men), but at the same time they reveal the way in which man, the Sarakatsani, conceives his life in society.

In fact, man does not participate mechanically, passively, in the life of his socio-cultural environment. He reflects on it, he tries to understand it, to accept it, to justify it, to control it. Even where these processes are not absolutely conscious or consciously and systematically expressed, they happen all the same. They manifest themselves in

/386 cont./

121 conversations, attitudes, judgments, minor occasions of daily life where one may catch them and be convinced of their existence.

The thoughts that emanate from these processes reflect the entire society. They represent it and interpret it in the spirit of the men --its members--and eventually they determine action and justify everything that becomes crystallized. They are not conceived /387/ theoretically, but in relation to the social context and the meaning of its elements. They are experienced at the same time that they are conceived. Finally, they are organized around certain pivotal ideas.

Now, these pivots are merely the fundamental ideas governing the phenomena, the meanings of the totalities of the elements. Though we have revealed these meanings on the level of facts, recognizing them as social phenomena, we discover them in man in the form of fundamental organizing principles of his social thinking. It is exactly this correspondence which enables us to pass from the sociological and the cultural to the human.

AN ATTEMPT AT SYNTHESIS AND EXPLANATION

The process of integrating ideas does not develop in the absolute. Like every other complex socio-cultural phenomenon it obeys, as we know, three dynamics:

1. The dynamism that each of the ideas exerts on the others and inversely.
2. The dynamic of fundamental concerns of the society in which this phenomenon develops.
3. Finally, the dynamic of objectively existing conditions.

In order to arrive at a synthesis, we must therefore correlate these three categories of elements--ideas, concerns, conditions. But first let us turn to the last two.

/387 cont./

121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

(181) --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for
liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid
slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society
(177) (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are
reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/
isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of
his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/388 cont./

182 its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be
596 a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock.
[233] In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large
[464] scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the
extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and
[233] consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes
herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to
provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is
602 to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter
demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a
simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been
said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity
of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance
fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable,
ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot
be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of
the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is
not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with
the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation,
extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt
[233] in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add
that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we
shall come back to that.

182 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained
562 by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should
predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to
defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily
work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure
the worst weather.

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the
economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising
carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for
individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his
own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be
catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction
having been established and put into practice, every subsequent
individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to
endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology
demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond
encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

--Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
182 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the
773 Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the
myths supplement it."

/389 cont./
The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
773 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely
developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the
Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive
almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from
the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter
is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has
no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a
syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely
coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another
and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to
conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account
all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

/390 cont./

182 conditions and ideas and, of course, all that each of them in turn
121 represents of underlying phenomena.

121 The final synthesis that we sought from the beginning is just this moving, living, dynamic and supremely significant chain.

Although conceived on the level of the individual and the fundamental social ideas of the Sarakatsani, it does not reduce the social reality to the cognitive or the "cultural," but corresponds to the total social phenomenon. It is true to the following discerning remark by G. Gurvitch that: "Society is within us and we are in /391/ society," and, what is more, to the very principles of anthropology.

Lastly, in a final image, this chain evokes the over-all configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture, the parts of which we have presented somewhat like a mosaic in the preceding chapters, and which we now restore to its inner unity by casting a little light on its articulations.

We shall wait to define this configuration in what follows.

As for the explanation, we believe that the picture of the correlation of ideas, conditions and concerns is so eloquent that specific comments are unnecessary. Of course, this applies to the explanation of the "whole." But there is more.

The same picture explains the formation of its parts, of the principle links of the chain, namely, how the fundamental ideas were adopted, how social man decided in favor of them, forced by certain conditions. However, in this connection it is essential to be specific.

When we speak of fundamental concerns which are transformed into motivations for action and into needs felt by the Sarakatsani, and of natural objective conditions, we consider neither the one nor the other as outside the Sarakatsani social framework properly speaking. Thanks to

/391 cont./

121 their reciprocal relations which we revealed above in their concrete form, concerns and conditions acquire a social significance; they are transformed under the influence of the Sarakatsani collective consciousness and they become social phenomena like all the others. As a result, we may legitimately include them in our explanatory reasoning, while remaining faithful to Durkheim is rule that the social is explained only by the social.

Thus we do not reduce the sociological explanation to a psychological and biological explanation, repeating the exaggerations of functionalism which have been so widely criticized. (3)

3. For a general examination of this problem see:
A. Devyver: Presentation des Argonautes de Malinowski,
p. 18 f.

nor do we reduce it to a geographical explanation, the monism and inadequacy of which have likewise been condemned.

* * * *

/392/ In order to complete our observations on the "whole," its composition and its explanation, we must take into account another of its aspects.

Certain ideas exert a most important influence on others. Examining them from this point of view we find that independence, kinship and male primacy, as well as herding are more prominent than community, cooperation, cosmology, religion. And among the first it is kinship that predominates. It makes independence and herding possible, it polarizes cooperation and community and it inspires the subject matter of magic and religion.

It is the same with concerns and conditions. Among concerns it is socio-cultural and ethnic survival that influences in a decisive way the resolving ideas. (4)

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105
182 Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended,
596 patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families,
[494] the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional
[233] and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient
economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding
[829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the
[496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With
strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/
[771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the
same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though
[181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean
[771] culture area.

121
182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

/393 cont./

121 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings
182 that might alter the picture.

121 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply
182 a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on
233 nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially
under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general
theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113) 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani
181 culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion
171 to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these
nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

/393 cont./

121 181 171 Now, the culture in question belongs indubitably to the cultural area, in the meaning given this term by Mauss, of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, and more precisely still, of the European Southeast. All the aspects examined testify to this. Technology /394/ and crafts, ideas governing family life, the system of socio-economic organization, magic, cosmology, anthropology, finally religion are deeply impregnated with the ideological universe established in this region of the world for centuries. Sarakatsani culture embraces elements, laid down in successive and super imposed layers, derived from all the civilizations that have appeared here from remotest antiquity. The preceding chapters having sufficiently shown the temporal dimension of this culture, we shall not speak of it again. We shall merely round out our previous remarks by a few words about the principle of cooperation and its forms among our nomads because of the lively discussion that this principle has called forth among certain historians.

121 171 Now, the idea of family cooperation was very soon put into practice among the populations of the Hellenic Peninsula. Life within the framework of the Greek genos, of which we have spoken before, is based on this same idea, despite its own peculiarities. We find it again in a later epoch, during the Hellenic middle ages where it is reflected in the nomos georgikas, the agrarian law of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (685-697; 705-711 A.D.), according to which "the inhabitants of the village appear at the same time to be joined together in a community; moreover, unlike the tilled fields, the orchards and the kitchen gardens which are the personal property of individuals, the pastures, the woods as well as all the other uncultivated land are the common property of the village. The village community is considered by the authorities as an administrative and fiscal unit, as a taxable unit..." (7)

/394 cont./

121 171 7. G. Ostrogorsky: Histoire de l'État byzantin, French translation, p. 120, footnote 1.

It is precisely this village community which has given rise to the most lively controversies about its origins. For it has been interpreted by certain historians such as Zacharia, Vasiliev, Kij and Ouspenskij as an organization inspired by the Russian mir. On this particular point, G. Ostrogorsky, the historian from whom we borrowed the preceding quotation, says distinctly, while criticizing the works of the authors mentioned, that the mir is late phenomenon; and he adds: "...a communal regime such as this, characterized by the community of fields, never existed in Byzantium, and if one wants to stick to the sources, one must agree that no community of this kind among the ancient /395/ Slavs is known; on the other hand, Byzantium and other countries and peoples along with it were acquainted, well before the Slavic invasion, of a community in the sense we spoke of above." (8)

8. See O. Ostrogorsky: op. cit., p. 165, footnote 5, the entire criticism with copious bibliographic references. See also R. Thurwaldt: l'Economie primitive, p. 345. "We know, moreover, that the family community of the southern Slavs was a relatively recent creation without deep roots in the past." This author cites as corroboration F. Kraus: Sitte und Brauch der Sud-Slaven, p. 64, and J.S. Lewinski: The Origin of Property, Etc.

Of course, these testimonies concern only the lives of free and sedentary peasants. About the pastoral life, to repeat, we know nothing. 171 233 However, ethnographic observation shows that in the Balkans nomadic herding was practiced chiefly by the Aroumain (Valaque), the Albanians (Arvanito-Valaque) and the Sarakatsani. The Bulgars and the Turks were ignorant of it, or almost so. And among the Yogoslavs it seems that in

/395 cont./

171 233 a region near the Greek borders, only the "Mijaci" practiced it, even recently, although the rest of their quite nomadic herding was practiced more to the north (Bosnia, Herzogovina, Tétovo, etc.). According to K. Karavidas, a sociologist and specialist in rural economy, "this system existed in the Balkans well before the arrival of the Slavs. The latter, once in the Byzantine countries, were integrated as farmers and sharecroppers and not as herders"--a statement corroborated by Ostrogrosky. And he adds: "Even today, those who still carry on nomadic herding are descended from the first inhabitants of the country before the Slavs, the Albanians, the Greeks and the Aroumain." (9)

Of course, all these ethnic groups of pastoral nomads have patriarchal extended families, in terms of which their lives are organized.

192 233 171 There remains another point to be clarified. The words "Tséligas" and "Tséligato" are undoubtedly of Slavic origin. One could therefore ask the following question: since the name of the system is Slavic, could one not assume that the system as such is also Slavic? The solution of this problem resides in the fact that this term is common all over Greece to designate the big herder and herding on a large scale, sedentary or otherwise. It has been adopted not only by the Sarakatsani, but by all groups of herders. This word therefore does not belong exclusively to the Sarakatsani way of life, but to an economically defined activity. And /396/ if we make use of it to characterize the Sarakatsani system it is because the Sarakatsani themselves use it in this sense, but in addition give it a special meaning. It is therefore very probable that this Slavic word was the object of linguistic borrowing, which has no particular bearing on the problem in question.

171 181 Having said that, we believe that our characterization of the

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9. Cf. ΚΑΡΑΒΙΔΑ : 'Αγροτικά, p. 48-49.

/396 cont./

171 Sarakatsani culture as South European is not contradicted by any of its
181 elements. And finally, if we have qualified it as Mediterranean and not simply as Greek, it is because the folk cultures still existing in Greece, and there are several, belong to a common base that could be called Mediterranean civilization, created in the course of time by cultural exchanges among shore-dwelling peasants, without loss of their original national character.

/397/

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DURATION

Decline and its Causes

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182 The concern of the Sarakatsani to survive socially, culturally and ethnically, their concern about their continuance becomes a problem of the equilibrium of their socio-cultural universe. We have already said that as long as the latter is able to keep its elements firmly together, continuance is assured. But any breakdown of the equilibrium means splitting and dissolution.

The fact that the Sarakatsani have been able to safeguard their way of life over centuries shows that they have found a solution. Some of our previous analyses enable us to glimpse it. But we must try to describe it in detail in order to reveal the mechanism it presupposes.

* * * *

121 In order to respond concretely to the requirements of this new problem it seems to us practical to reverse the wording of it: what are the elements of Sarakatsani life that "threaten" its equilibrium? How does this threat manifest itself? And what are the means employed to neutralize it?

Let us speak first of their group life, beginning with the family the most important group known to our herders.

/397 cont./

578 It is possible that conjugal families or small lineages will one day find themselves in competition or in conflict with each other or with the extended family of which they are a part or with both at the same time.

The many causes of competition may be classified into two categories:

Occasional causes reflecting conflicts /398/ arising from a specific combination of circumstances, as for example, personal discord between heads or other members of the sub-groups of the family unit (dislikes, jealousies, disputes, rancor, hatred, etc.), disagreements about the managament or because of the managament of the common enterprise, ambitions of a sub-group's head who aspires to become an independent head, etc.

578 627 182 The means at the disposal of Sarakatsani society to cope with this are both manifold and effective: in case of discord or personal ambitions, the individuals concerned may demand their "share" of the common goods and leave, or else join another Tséligato. Likewise, economic disagreements may be solved either by arbitration or by the dismissal of an incapable head-manager, or finally by splitting up and dispersing. At worst, the original family group may find itself lessened in strength or even split up. But in general the means of bypassing differences, true safety values, channel the pressures in directions provided for, and avoid a challenge to the adopted way of life, as would be the case if the explosive situations did not have another outlet.

578 Causes inherent in the very system of Sarakatsani life, reflecting social conflicts that derive from its inherent characteristics. It is chiefly this second category of rivalries which, as constant dangers to the equilibrium, merit our attention.

[121] As a matter of fact, according to a correct but very much disputed formula by C. Lévi-Strauss, "no society is perfect. Each one has by

/398 cont./

578 121 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 571 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamics of many factors.

578 182 155 626 183 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its
cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
771 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)

182 2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminolog-
[121] ically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/400 cont./

578 to the Marxist theory, (3)
675 3. On the different meanings of the term alienation
182 in Marx see: G. Gurvitch: La vocation, vol, II, pp. 253-258.
121 although these have their origin in it. We use this term to indicate
every case in which groups and individuals yield to other groups or
other individuals all or part of their social or economic independence,
their initiative, their activity, consciously or unconsciously, in the
hope of obtaining in return a profit, a privilege, the recognition of
certain rights, or more generally, some sort of satisfaction. [Eds.
128 note: since this meaning of the word "alienation" would not be
immediately apparent to readers of parts of the text in English in
the Files, the term has been translated where used as "obligation"].
578 The term "compensation" designates exactly this counter-benefit and
675 distinguishes it clearly from purely psychological compensation or
182 psychoanalytic sublimation. Let us add further that compensation may
121 be real, ideological or presumed, present or anticipated. It is not
necessary that there be an absolute equivalence between the two terms.
A relative equivalence suffices for this mechanism to bear fruit.
Observation of societies shows that individuals and groups are mutually
bound by manifold contributions of the obligation-compensation type
which, in the final analysis, makes possible, up to a certain point,
life in society. Of course, the nature, content, number, etc., of
relations of this kind varies with the types of partial or whole
societies and their structures. And if one wishes to analyze them, one
will find that they reflect society as a whole, while being linked
specifically with models, statuses, social roles, collective attitudes,
ideas, values and mentalities. However, it would be erronous to
believe that the relationship "obligation-compensation" is a contractual relationship. It could be, but is not always, or rather is so

578 /400 cont./
675 only in limited cases. Finally, it is certain that all relationships
182 of domination would degenerate into simple pressure relations (4)
121 which in their turn would become situations of conflict if the mechanism "obligation-compensation" would not intervene to /401/ ensure at least a precarious equilibrium, provided that the total social phenomenon and social structure favor it.

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In the case of the Sarakatsani, the mechanism in question enables individuals and groups not to consider their subordination as slavery pure and simple. For the principles of organization of their social life are oriented toward a strong integration of all elements, individuals or groups in a system where the maximum of socio-economic security is accorded to all. A sort of blueprint or secular and "primitive" control which determines each person's place in advance, permits him to benefit from a maximum of foresight. The main ideas that dominates Sarakatsani social organization and emanates from the value, of community is to ensure the destiny of each of its members. This represents the chief compensation of any subjugation, and we can now evaluate it according to its true nature. Moreover, the prerogatives of each person (man, woman, headman, participants), be they administrative, family, religious or magical prerogatives, neutralize the possible feelings of frustration which otherwise could make their appearance and be extremely virulent and disintegrating.

In short, the role of the "obligation-compensation" mechanism on behalf of equilibrium and a lack of schism proves fundamental. This is so obvious that it seems to us unnecessary to emphasize it. This mechanism provides not only the justification for the asymmetries in Sarakatsani

4. On this distinction see G. Gurvitch: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 222.

/401 cont./

578 675 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their
182 realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the
183 means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

121 As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social
units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they
are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists
[626) exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible
violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates
[177) both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since
surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves
insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their
lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance.
Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional
178 elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing
182 the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

/402 cont./

S 121 178 182 solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 177 121 Gradual liberation of the country.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

G 175 648 722 Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

S
175 /403 cont./
177 region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish
121 army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of
G
175 the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic
648 government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties
722 and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures
S were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means
G
[425] of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made
to disappear.

S The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

175 The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland
177 found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.
233
474 But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war
429 and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the
178 death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding
S started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of
474 Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all
233 of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been
178
177 obliged to seek individual solutions.

S The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

177 In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the
175 country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil
S registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several
[656] consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their
return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the
community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 464 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
562 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work
in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the
woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S 177 d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.

871 Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] [233] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[241] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S 177 At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
423 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
656 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
G all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
656 423 leased sites.

/405 cont./

177 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.
241
233 This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed.
[233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking,
[361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible.
Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since
[641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani
are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning.
[657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of
guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc.,
the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a
reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri-
[594] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic
[425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives
way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

/405 cont./

177 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani
433 have begun to practice a mixed exploitation (agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the
554 roles and status of men and women, hence the family heirarchy and
181 encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

/406 cont./

177 (114) 5. We may be criticized, and rightly so, for having silently passed over another decisive factor of change in the Sarakatsani type of life. This is "acculturation." We should like to explain that our silence in this matter is due to the fact that we have for several years been preparing a special study on this problem, which will soon appear.

Hence a dramatic struggle of these strained elements toward the quest for a new formula.

/407/

CONCLUSION

Homo Saracatsanus

121 To know the Sarakatsani in his totality and on the basis of his socio-cultural works, this has been the objective we set ourselves in presenting this work. An ambitious goal, to be sure (more especially since the existing scientific means permit only approximations which rest on modest contributions), but a natural result of this anthropological study.

We shall now try to draw the profile of the Sarakatsani, the picture of the man who created the socio-cultural reality that we have analyzed and who, in turn, has been created by his own creations. In order to do this we shall turn to what is original and distinctive in him. This picture we have called homo saracatsanus, even though current terminology designates with similar words entire species and not simply variants. May we be pardoned for the heresy in the name of the evocative power of the formula.

We shall not go back to the works of the Sarakatsani in order not to repeat ourselves. We shall consider this dimension of our present problem as known. We shall proceed from another dimension which we shall call "Sarakatsani Anthropology" and which we can circumscribe in a formula that will at the same time outline the plan of our account.

/407 cont./

121 Every society, and therefore the society of our herders, has an anthropology of its own, a collective work and consequently a social phenomenon which, though not entirely conscious, nevertheless exists. It is expressed in anthropological ideas, in the strict sense, in the socio-cultural molding of individuals, in the socially accepted latitude that permits a man to develop his initiative, in the organization, in the broad sense, of social life conceived as an instrument from which the individual will benefit, finally in the content and extent of the value that man represents for it.

/408/ We believe that these points will suffice for us to accomplish our task. And we hope that knowledge of the action will enable us, in addition, to lift the mask behind which the face of the actor is hidden.

* * * *

121 Sarakatsani anthropological ideas are familiar to us. Man, like the
812 grain, grows, blossoms, begets descendants and dies. Born from the earth,
771 he returns to the earth from whence spring powerful creative forces so
[761] that a new life may see the light. Death is for him a natural phenomenon
that must be faced with courage. But he believes in the life hereafter
[775] described by Christianity, in which the soul may enjoy eternal rest if
his life has conformed to the Christian prescription and if, in addition,
the living faithfully follow on his behalf both Christian and pre-Christian
funeral customs and usages. All these ideas also bear profound traces of
a religious syncretism which we need not discuss again.

Man is not completely defenseless before nature and the supernatural. Aside from technology, he is acquainted with ways of exerting his influence on them so that both will consent to favor to him. Nevertheless, man trembles before nature and the supernatural because of his weakness, without however sinking into despair, discouragement or inaction. On the contrary,

/408 cont./

121 he must show himself courageous and make use of all procedures likely
812 to incline these forces in the desired direction. A dramatic colloquy,
771 but full of nobility and human dignity.

121 However, man must mold himself to the requirements of his
812 environment. A profound dichotomy thereupon enters into the criteria
829 for molding--a dichotomy based on sex. The men, on the one hand, and the
462 women, on the other, must each develop certain skills, aptitudes, virtues,
knowledge and beliefs chosen from "the arc of possible behavior." (1)

1. According to the formula of R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations, p. 281.-- See also M. Mead: Moeurs et sexualité, p. 268.

121 The following table gives us a concise idea of them:

829 /409/

TABLE

462

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Technical skills..........	Herding, wood crafts.	Building, weaving, housework.
Economic & administrative skills............	Productions, trade, management of family property, spirit of co-operation, patriarchal type of command, righteousness.	Consumption, spirit of cooperation, obedience control of girls.
Virtues..................	Pride, independence, communal spirit, conformism, traditionalism. Sobriety, austerity. Good family fathers. Warriors.	the same. In addition: chastity, absolute submission to the men. Good mothers of family.
Magico-religious aptitudes................	Very limited, relating to certain rites as shepherds or males (sexual content of rite).	Almost exclusive protagonists of the magico-religious ritual.

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Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge......................	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs..........................	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes............	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players. .	The same. Embroidery.

121 /410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

181 The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the
[182] Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and in-
[626] tense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their
[829] morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

/410 cont./

121 They show that the latitude offered the Sarakatsani to give free rein
181 to their originality, namely to their temperament, their talents,
their imagination, is not very great. The latitude is provided in
advance and obeys predictable models. This formula does not mean that
our herders are automatons whose strings are pulled by their society and
their culture, but merely that they are not supposed to go beyond
certain norms. The fact that they are honored when they distinguish
themselves in accomplishing certain tasks perfectly shows that
Sarakatsani society knows how to appreciate talent and originality.
121 However, it does not permit the non-observance of the "prescribed."
181 This means that the Sarakatsani become "typical" individuals. (2)
226 2. See M. Mead's distinction between "typical" and
"atypical": Ibid., p. 268.

Those who are atypical are not tolerated. They are, in fact
threatened with social banishment. Sarakatsani social molding is
121 therefore total. And, to express this statement on another level, we
181 might say that among them traditional cultural works /411/ flow into
their psyches; in other words, their total social and psychological
phenomena overlap almost completely. (3)

3. Inspired by G. Gurvitch.

Nevertheless, Sarakatsani society is interested not only in the molding of its members, but also in their destiny. It provides for them socially, it puts at their disposal its organization and its means. All the solutions of their vital problems that it has adopted converge toward "a primitive, socio-economic planning," according to a formula by Radin, (4)

4. See P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, pp. 99 and 201.

/411 cont./

121 181 [554] which ultimately insures the life of all. In Sarakatsani society no one is disinherited. From the time of each person's birth he has a socio-economic status, determined in advance, a means of subsistence, a guarantee on his property, assistance in case of misfortune, solidarity and support of the group in case of danger. Socio-economic differences exists, to be sure. But no one is left destitue. In case of overwhelming circumstances, the mechanism of solidarity swings into action so that the victim will be aided.

121 181 156 Of course, individuals are not taken into consideration as such. The Sarakatsani do not preach the cult of individualism. Individuals are perceived in the foresight and functionalism of their society, solely as cells of the latter and above all as members of the family group. This formula does not mean that the value "man" has no meaning among the Sarakatsani, nor that the predominance of the collectivity acts to obliterate individuals. The Sarakatsani as Greeks and Christians are sufficiently prepared to have the individual figure in the totality of their ideas. However, in all cases, and they are numerous, where their society must make a choice between the individual interest and that of the group, it will prefer the group.

This choice should not surprise us. It is the consequence of the way in which the Sarakatsani conceives of himself as a social being, and conceives of his relations with another, that others, and in short, his society. And this conception is based on kinship, cooperation, the community, raised to the rank of supreme values.

* * * *

181 /412/If one has occasion to see Sarakatsani walking in a provincial city one is struck by their bearing, their pride, their nobility. At that moment a comparison with peasants of the plains and with townpeople is

/412 cont./

181 clearly to their advantage. The Sarakatsani "is not afraid to look straight into the sun." Between him and the universe there is no impassable abyss. For he feels capable of making a bridge across the void of creating what to the peasants and townspeople seems impossible, without compromising and without bending their backs. And how could it be otherwise? The mountain is a school of virility and up there there is room only for men who know how to struggle against nature, against their neighbor, against themselves. A great school, which brings to Greece human patterns of an exceptional quality, for the Sarakatsani and more generally all highlanders, have heroically defended its liberty and preserved its immense resources by renewal and creation.

* * * *

178 At the moment we write these lines the Sarakatsani are abandoning more and more rapidly the elements of their cultural uniqueness. In a few years there will be nothing left of it. A mixed economy, agriculture and sedentary or transhumant herding, has replaced the old system. The children go to school regularly and aspire to various careers. A small test we asked some Sarakatsani school children to take showed that the boys dreamed of the braid of an officer or a pilot, of a merchant's cash, of the salary of a specialized technician, while the girls longed for a sewing machine or a knitting machine, for the teacher's profession, for a realm certainly modest but how significant, to be mistress of a house.

121 178 Faced with this change, we cannot help asking ourselves how we feel about it.

From the "humanitarian" point of view it is no doubt permissible. The Sarakatsani must have his place within the framework of the general change and of the present effort to raise the standard of living of all the peoples of the globe. He too must commence to live like a "civilized"

/412 cont./

178 human being.

121 Nevertheless, the means at the disposal of contemporary man by our urbanized and technicized civilization for /413/ an improvemnt of his condition also bear bitter fruits. The price of comfort and well-being is too often agony, insecurity, dehumanization of work, constant dissatisfaction, the rupture of ties between men, solitude, social injustice.

When one considers slums and shanty towns, when one consults the statistics dealing with certain diseases (neurosis and psychosis), prostitution or criminality, in countries in the process of rapid development, the picture takes on a disquieting glare.

Then, comparisons become inevitable. We are surely not advocates of the myth of the "noble savage" nor of maxims recommending "the return to nature." And we have no illusions about the condition of the Sarakatsani. However, one fact is certain: among them the phenomena of social pathology are unknown.

Thus, change among our herders, rapid and without any preparation that could lessen the brutality of the shock, fills us with great disquiet.

However, it is quite necessary to recognize and perhaps accept it: progress presupposes "human cost." "History," once the threshold of "tradition" is crossed, flounders but advances on muddy ground, drenched with sweat and, in some cases, with the blood of "human beings," the heirs of Prometheus.

/pp. 413-424 of foreign text not translated/

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Abbreviations for periodicals and collections

— C. I. d. S.	= Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie.
— R. Ph.	= Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'étranger.
— E. H.	= Collection : Évolution de l'Humanité.
— B. F. Ph. L.	= Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et des Lettres de Liège.
— Q. s. j.	= Que sais-je?
— Ann. Soc.	= Année Sociologique.
— J. H. St.	= Journal of Hellenic Studies.
— A. Ph. Dr. Soc. Jur.	= Archives de Philosophie du droit et de Sociologie Juridique.
— Λαογραφία	= Δελτίον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφικῆς Ἑταιρίας.

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/pp. 439-447 of foreign text not translated/

000

CAPTIONS OF FIGURES

Pages

Map of Greece: geographic sites where the investigation was carried out. 5

1. Metallic cutting tools 37
2. *Tavla* or *sofras*: table for meals 38
3. The same 38
4. Sarakatsani cradle (identical to those which all the Greek peasants use) 39
5. Wooden stool: a piece of furniture recently appeared among the Sarakatsani 40
6. Kneading trough hollowed from a single tree trunk 41
7. *Pinakotti*: wooden plank in the hollows of which is placed bread to let it rise before baking 41
8. *Plastiri*: circular wooden plate on which is kneaded the dough and is flattened the sheets of dough.--*Plastis*: pastry roller. 41
9. Wooden spoon 42
10. *Klidhopinako*: double wooden bowl whose edges close hermetically 42
11. *Voutséli*: wooden keg with narrow opening 43
12. The same: (round form) 43
13. *Vedhoura*: tiny tub for the preparation of yogurt 43
14. Cask (bought commercially) 44
15. *Xethali*: piece of hard wood serving as a poker 44
16. *Plystroskafidho*: carved wooden basin used for laundry 44
17. Paddle used for washing and rinsing in the brooks 44
18. Carrying bucket (tub made of staves) 44
19. The same.
20. Churn: small vat in the form of a cone frustrum made of staves 46
21. Plunger: stick terminated with a wheel which acts to beat the milk 46
22. Vat in which butter or cheese is stored 47
23. Distaff ending in a fork 47
24. Distaff in the form of a cross composed of two parts 48
25. Elements of the distaff in the form of a cross 48
26. Spinner making use of a distaff in the form of a lyre. The suspended spindle turns freely. 49
27. *Idiastra*: a kind of a draw-plate used for warping 49
28. Carding tool 50
29. The same 50

OOO

Pages

30. Weaving loom made by the Sarakatsani 51
31. Weaving loom bought from artisans 52
32. Shuttles 53
33. Collar on which is suspended a bell 55
34. Shepherd's crook 55
35. Pivoted scissors used for shearing 56
36. Spinning (revolving the spindle in the hand: drougha) 59
37. Diagram of mounting the warp threads 60
38. Transfer operation of the warp threads on the loom 62
39. Flokotti blanket 65
40. Karamelotti blanket 66
41. Empty fuller's mill 67
42. Fuller's mill in use 68
43. Goat-skin bottle 69
44. The two types of Sarakatsani huts 70
45. Round or circular hut 71
46. The "crown" or key of the vault of the round hut 72
47. Construction detail of the top of the round hut 73
48. Rectangular hut called "inclined" 76
49. Frame of the rectangular hut 76
50. Small round hut serving as an outbuilding of the principal habitation (shelter for the weaving loom) 77
51. The same (storehouse) 78
52. Spread of the rectangular hut 79
53. Variations of the rectangular hut constructed on forks 80
54. Variations of the rectangular hut constructed without forks 80
55. Frame of the construction on forks 81
56. Rectangular construction without forks 82
57. Frétzato (enclosure) leaning against the hut 85
58. Free-standing frétzato (tsardhaki or ombre) 85
59. The same (photogoni) 84
60. Open-air oven. 87
61. The two types of chicken coop 90
62. Interior appointments of the hut 91
63. The "beds": benches running along the interior partition walls of the hut 91
64. The hearth of a Sarakatsani dwelling 92
65. Interior appointments: shelves 93
66. Sheepfold. 95

Pages

000 67. Entrance to the fold 96
68. Shelter for sheep 96
69. Fold (view from above) 97
70. Interior of a sheep shelter 98
71. *Tsarkos*: fold for goats 99
72. *Tsardhaki* used for animal shelters during the hot hours of the day 99
73. *Stroungha*: enclosure reserved for animal exploitation 100
74. "On the road" (seasonal displacement) 107
75. Milking in the *stroungha* 109
76. Meal preparation in the interior of the hut; smoke escapes through the boughs of the roof 111
77. National costume of mainland Greece (Photo Megalo-economos) 113
78. Present costume of the *Tseligas* 117
79. The *skoufia* (cap) 117
80. Present work costume 117
81. The *maliotto* (overcoat with sleeves) 117
82. The *kapa* (cape) 117
83. The *kapa* completed by a hood /captions for figs. 82 and 83 are reversed/ 117
84. Married woman's costume 119
85. The *kontokapa* (vest ornamented with false brocaded sleeves) 119
86. Embroidered bodice-front (white on black) 119
87. The "lower part", used for covering either the legs or the forearms 119
88. Sarakatsani belt 119
89. Woman's work costume 120
90. The *velentzoula*: shawl made from a *flokotti* (fig. 39) 121
91. Wooden spatulas 125
92. Cauldron used in cheese-making 125
93. The *koutlas* (ladle) 126
94. The *tsandiles*: bags of transparent muslin 127
95. Preparation of griddle cakes 129
96. Technique of striking a light 131
97. Three phases of cooking in the *ghastra* 133
98. The same 133
99. The same 133
100. The wedding-pastry 276
101. Amulet against the "evils" and the evil eye 309
102. Foretelling the future by scapulimancy 326
103. The *iconostase*: place in the hut where the icons are fastened 398

000

Pages

104. Carved spindle 429
105. Decorated spindle whorl 429
106. The same 429
107. Sarakatsani bag decorated with a typical motif (white on black) 432
108. Old Sarakatsani chief playing the tzamara 435
109. The tziradi (little flute) 436

3: Kabbadias

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

692

[For additional information on the role of "arbiters" in the settlement of disputes, see Category 627.]

627

[For additional information on the role of "arbiters" in the settlement of disputes, see Category 692.]

793

[Although the Sarakatsani employ village priests, apparently of Greek origin, in various religious rituals, "by their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest "(p.399). Therefore references to the use of priests in the text have been left under the functional religious categories (e.g., 796, 788, 585, 782, etc.) with the further addition of Category 177 (acculturation and culture contact) to indicate the use of the non-Sarakatsani priest.]

3: Kabbadias EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

153
828

[For information on "magical thinking", see Category 811.]

3: Kabbadias EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

773
81
828

[For a theoretical discussion of the inter-relationship of myth and knowledge, see Category 121 (or Category 116, pp. 416-423).]